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THE TRAGIC ARTIST IN GRILLPARZER'S "MELUSINA"

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The initial work by Grillparzer on his drama *Melusina* goes back to the summer or autumn of 1822, but the first complete draft was prepared in March of the following year, following a request which Beethoven made through Count Moritz Dietrichstein that Grillparzer prepare for him, i.e., for Beethoven, the libretto for an opera. In his *Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, Grillparzer describes the considerations which led to his selection of the Melusina theme:

"Unter den dramatischen Stoffen, die ich mir zu künftiger Bearbeitung aufgezeichnet hatte, befanden sich zwei, die allenfalls eine opernmäßige Behandlung zuzulassen schienen. Der eine bewegte sich in dem Gebiete der gesteigertsten Leidenschaft. Aber nebstdem, daß ich keine Sängerin wußte, die der Hauptrolle gewachsen wäre, wollte ich auch nicht Beethoven Anlaß geben, den äußersten Grenzen der Musik, die ohnehin schon wie Abstürze drohend da lagen, durch einen halb diabolischen Stoff verleitet, noch näher zu treten.

Ich wählte daher die Fabel der Melusine, schied die reflektierenden Elemente nach Möglichkeit aus und suchte durch Vorherrschen der Chöre gewaltige Finales, und indem ich den dritten Akt beinahe melodramatisch hielt, mich den Eigentümlichkeiten von Beethovens letzter Richtung möglichst anzupassen."¹

In the subsequent negotiations with Beethoven, described by Grillparzer, it is obvious that misunderstanding prevailed on the part of one or both the men. No definite agreement was concluded, and Grillparzer finally turned his author's rights over to his publisher Wallishäuser. Beethoven died in 1827 without having written the opera, and in 1832 Conradin Kreutzer acquired the rights to *Melusina* from Wallishäuser. The opera was completed and had its premiere in Berlin in 1833 at the Königsstädter Theater. Two years later it was produced in Vienna in the Josephstädter Theater, where it was poorly received. This unfavorable reception was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that the author's message was not understood, and this is not surprising, inasmuch as *Melusina*

¹ August Sauer, ed., *Grillparzers sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1892-4), vol. XX, p. 208. All references in this study refer to volume VII of this edition of Grillparzer's works.

is undoubtedly one of Grillparzer's most subjective works. It is a meta-physical allegory depicting the tragic conflict between Art and Life.

Melusina, a naiad or water nymph, one of three sisters, longs for union with the mortal Raimund, a knight, whose heart is filled in turn with a vague restlessness and an indefinable longing for something higher. To the unknown object of his longings he prays: "Du hohe Macht, die sich zu mir zu neigen, / Mich anzustrahlen schien mit ihrem Glanz; / Mög' dir gefallen, ganz dich mir zu zeigen, / Und willst du's nicht, o so entlaß mich ganz! / Ein fremdes Streben hast du mir entglommen, / Von dunkler Ahnung hebt sich meine Brust, / Was sonst mein Glück war, ist von mir genommen, / Und dürstend lechz' ich nach geträumter Lust. / Hör auf, des Lebens Glück mir zu beneiden, / Nicht wende mich dem Unbekannten zu! / Und kannst du mir nicht geben neue Freuden, / So laß mir wenigstens die alte Ruh!" (226).

Ignoring her sisters' warnings that communion with a mortal can bring her only unhappiness, Melusina comes and talks to Raimund as he sleeps, and leaves with him a magic ring which can reveal her to him at any time but which, if relinquished, will separate them forever.

It is significant that Grillparzer identifies his Melusina as a naiad, for mythology credits the naiads with prophetic power and with the ability to inspire men. Hence all persons in a state of rapture, such as seers and poets, were said to be under their spell. Grillparzer's Melusina symbolizes Art, the abstract concept of art in the sense of Plato's famous doctrine of Ideas — the ideal, the idea, the potentiality. Grillparzer causes Raimund to refer to Melusina and her realm in one place as "das Mögliche" (248), and in the first act Melusina, describing herself and her sisters to Raimund, says: "Traum umgibt uns, die wir Träume sind" (230). In thus identifying Melusina as "das Mögliche" and as "Traum," Grillparzer emphasizes the infinity and the timelessness of the "Idea" or "Art" as contrasted with the finite, limited character of material existence, restricted by the laws of reality. The contrast with material existence, the freedom from physical laws is pointed up by the chorus in describing Melusina's realm: "Farbe kennt nicht Schatten, / Dunkel nicht das Licht. / Lust kennt kein Ermatten, / Selber Sätt'gung nicht" (240). Melusina herself emphasizes the gulf between the realm of pure art and the material world as she warns Raimund to be absolutely certain within himself before making his choice:

"Raimund! es ist uns verboten, mit Menschen Gemeinschaft zu haben; aber ich liebe dich. . . . — Raimund, liebst du mich? — Bedenk es wohl, eh du entscheidest! Viel wird dir gegeben werden, viel aber auch versagt. Freust du dich am Umgange mit deinesgleichen; in meinem Schlosse findest du deinesgleichen nicht. Locket dich der Becher; wir keltern keine Trauben. Der Tafel Lust? Schaum ist unsre Kost. Kein Wechsel, nicht, was euch reizt, Veränderung. Ruh und Gleichmut sprießen / In Melusinens Reich, / Und die Tage

fließen /Immerdar sich gleich. /Was sich auch gestalte, /Nie ein Vielerlei, /Und allein das Alte /Ist uns ewig neu.

So findest du's bei uns. Kann dir das genügen, so wirst du übergücklich sein, glücklicher als noch nie ein Mensch. Meiner Liebe bist du gewiß. Der Erde Müh und Not entnommen, wirst du erkennen, was du jetzt nur ahnest, und *schauen*, was dir jetzt Mühe macht nur zu *denken*. Aber überlege wohl, eh du entscheidest!" (230-231).

As Melusina says, Art in its essence dare not have communion with mortals. Yet only through union with reality can Art make itself manifest. There is inherent in Art the urge to take on form, and yet pure Art is inevitably degraded in its manifestation. Raimund, therefore, the artist or the agent through which Art receives form, if he is to enter into a union with Art, must sever himself from every crassly material aspect of human existence. His art must mean more to him than do his fellowmen, more than food and drink, more than substance and truth, the fundamental criteria in the mortal realm; it must mean more to him than change and variation. Art, timeless and changeless, Art for herself alone must be his whole existence.

Over against Melusina's realm of ideas lies the material, mortal realm. This is represented by Count Emerich von Forst and his sister, Bertha, who loves Raimund; above all, however, the material world is represented by Troll, Raimund's servant. Troll's basic attitude is summed up in his words: "Träume sind Schäume" (232). He denies the existence of anything beyond the material. To Melusina herself he says: "Vor allem also leugne ich dich selber. Ich protestiere gegen deine Figur und Korpulenz. Mensch bist du nicht, und Geister gibt's nicht — also! Du, dein Palast, deine Diener, ihr seid eigentlich gar nicht vorhanden" (243). Troll is the embodiment of Raimund's humanity. He voices the scepticism of dry reason toward things of the spirit. As Melusina once tells Raimund: "Er spricht nur aus, was du denkst" (243). Troll voices the doubt and mortal longings which at times mar the perfection of Raimund's devotion to Melusina — to Art.

Between the realm of Art and the realm of reality stands the human, Raimund, in whom Grillparzer symbolizes the artist. Through his deep and earnest longing he has demonstrated his capacity to respect and appreciate Art in its essence. He turns his back upon knighthood and human aspirations and is admitted into Melusina's kingdom, where through marriage with her he becomes united with the quintessence of Art, with the creative prototype of all manifestations of art in the world of reality. Through her, his perception is released from its mortal bonds, from limitations of time and space. She unveils for him the mysteries of the universe: "Ich habe dir die Bahn der Sonnen gezeigt in den Lüften; die Quellen des Lebens in der Erde Schoß; der Metalle Sitz, des Feuers Werkstatt. In Wort und Ton, in Bild und Gebärde breitete

ich vor dir aus der Künste unendliches Reich. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart und Zukunft liegen offen deinem Blick. Unnennbar ist meine Liebe. Was kann dir fehlen?" (242).

Grillparzer now points to the basic conflict in the artist's soul between Art and Life. Raimund, after a brief pause, replies to Melusina's questions concerning what he lacks: "Und wenn ich *Thätigkeit* sagte?" Impatiently Melusina, mistress of the realm of ideas, replies to Raimund, the mortal: "Was soll *Thätigkeit*? wenn du *hast*, was *Thätigkeit* erst schaffen soll. Oder wirkt ihr, um zu wirken? *Sei thätig: zerstöre mich!*" (243)

"*Tätigkeit*," for Grillparzer, is not mere activity, but is specifically preoccupation with and participation in the affairs of men as opposed to absorption in the contemplative life. It is a familiar theme, which he had already employed in his drama *Sappho* and was to return to later in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* and *Libussa*. For one who has consecrated his life to the realm of ideas, who has pledged himself to Art, there can be no divided loyalty. For the artist to accord mundane interests and activities a place in his life is to sound the death-knell of his art. Thus Melusina says: "*Sei thätig: zerstöre mich!*"

Raimund protests his sincerity and loyalty to her, but Troll now breaks in and gives voice to mortal doubts which seek to find lodging in the artist's soul. He questions whether, in turning his back upon the world and devoting himself exclusively to art, the artist has not sacrificed honor, reputation, and his religious faith. Troll is addressing Raimund, but Melusina accepts Troll's words as expressing the artist's secret feelings. A curious colloquy ensues, in which Art seeks to combat the human weakness and doubt in the artist's soul.

Troll: Edler Ritter! oder vielmehr: Nicht-Ritter, denn seid Ihr's noch?

Melusina: (zu Raimund): Menschen töten wirst du bei uns freilich nicht. Nennst du das etwa tätig sein?

Troll: Was glaubt Ihr, daß man von Euch sagen wird im ganzen Land?

Melusina: So wär' es der Menschen Urteil, was du scheust, und nicht dein eigenes?

Troll: Ihr wart ein frommer Christ; was seid Ihr nun?

Melusina: Ich bekenne den Gott aller Wesen.

Troll: Ja, der Teufel leugnet ihn auch nicht! (243-244)

At this point Raimund's loyalty to Melusina intervenes and attempts to silence the voice of doubt: "Schweig, Unverschämter! oder —" (244). But now Melusina is unable longer to close her eyes to the possibility that human weaknesses may linger in Raimund's heart, and she challenges him: "Sag selbst, ob gar nichts von alledem in deinem Herzen ist?" This elicits from Raimund the admission that his former life, that the

world of reality, has not been banished completely from his thoughts: "Und wenn manchmal ein Gedanke nach meiner Heimat — ?"

Even though he has pledged himself completely to the lofty realm of Art, he is nevertheless still a human and subject to human desires and weaknesses, though these may be temporarily suppressed by the intensity of his devotion to the world of ideals. Melusina sees herself compelled to recognize Raimund's mortality, however unwillingly, and to make allowances for it: "Auch das sei dir gewährt! / Was gäb' ich drum, du hättest's nie begehrt! / Die Heimat sollst du sehn und auch die Deinen." At the same time, she reveals to him a secret about herself concerning which she had up to then been silent. „Die Macht, die du an mir beneidenswert gefunden, / Sie ist doch an Bedingungen gebunden, / Die niemand ahnet, niemand kennt. / Die Fesseln alles Endlichen zu tragen, / Muß einen Tag von sieben Tagen / Ich kehren zu der Mutter Element."

When Melusina speaks here of "wearing the shackles of the finite" she is describing what occurs to the infinite potentialities of the ideal when it is brought down to the material plane and given form. Yet art has the inherent tendency to become manifest and it cannot become manifest and still retain its ideal, infinite character. The moment art is given definite form it loses its ideal existence and is limited by the nature of the material which gives it form — is shackled by the finite. Melusina and her sisters express this union between extremes, between the infinite and the finite, between the ideal and the human, between the spiritual realm and the realm of the animal as follows: "Äußerstes berührt sich, / Höchstes erniedert sich: / Was dem Gott am nächsten schier, / Ist am nächsten auch dem Tier!" (246). Because of this contamination of the spiritual by the material, Melusina is compelled, as she tells Raimund, to return from time to time to her native element, to the source of her power, to the realm of the spirit, for purification and renewal of her strength. What she does not tell him is that because of her union with the animal realm, with a human, the resultant contamination takes on visible form before her purification and she is transformed temporarily into a repulsive, scaly caricature of her natural self.

As Melusina now descends into her native element, she does not experience the satisfying peace of former times, for she fears Raimund's anger should he discover her in her degradation. She looks out upon the lake and sings: "Im verschwieg'n Mondenscheine / Liegst du heiter, still und klar, / Lockst, als wär' ich noch die Deine, / Wie ich's früher, früher war. / Ach, mit seligem Genügen / Taucht' ich sonst in deine Flut, / Ließ von ihr mich schaukelnd wiegen, / Kühlen meines Busens Glut. / Aber jetzo, wie in Flammen, / Steig' ich nieder in den Born, / Denn wüßt' er's, er würd's verdammen; / Hast du Kühlung gegen Flammen? / Gegen des Geliebten Zorn?" (252).

During the day of her purification, while Melusina descends into the realm of the elemental, Raimund is given freedom to return temporarily to the mortal realm, but Melusina makes him swear not to look for her, speak to her, nor to seek contact with her in any manner while she is away. Raimund promises "Treue, Glauben und Bestand" (245). Hardly has she been called away, however, when doubts arise in his mind concerning his honor, his reputation, and his religious faith. He feels that he must justify himself in the eyes of the world: "Ich will hin, ich will es sagen! / Nicht für Argen, nicht für Zagen, / Den die Lust gefangen hält, / Schmähe mich der Mund der Welt" (247). The human weaknesses are making themselves felt and Troll voices his satisfaction: "Gut, gut, gut! / Es beginnt denn doch zu tagen, / Will er erst die Meinung fragen; / So zerbricht auch, was ihn hält, / Er gehört der alten Welt." Raimund feels that he has been unjust in so long neglecting his friends, Bertha and her brother the count. Turning to his magic ring, he commands: "Brichst du vom Möglichen die Siegel, / So brich vom Wirklichen sie auch! / Gestalten, lebt!" (248). Bertha and her brother appear and join Troll in trying to shake Raimund's faith in Melusina. He feels that if they could only see her, they too would recognize her goodness, but his promise to Melusina prevents him from communicating with her on this day of purification. The insistence of the human realm, however, finally prevails and Raimund determines that they shall see Melusina. Simultaneously he, who had already pledged himself wholly to Melusina, demonstrates a lack of faith in her when he now concedes the possibility that she may not be genuine. He tells Troll, Bertha, and the Count: "Nun wohl, ihr sollt sie sehn, / Mag was will und kann, geschehen / Ritters Ehre muß bestehn. / Ist sie wahr, Reich' ich ihr die Rechte dar! / Ist sie Lüge, / Folg' ich euch" (251).

Melusina is revealed in her degradation and Raimund staggers back, cursing her: "Gräßlich, entsetzlich! / Schuppenbedeckt, / Abscheulich! / Ungeheuer, ich fluche dir!" (254). Melusina now resumes her natural form but Raimund still curses her, although he retains her ring, the symbol of their union — the union of Art and Life.

In the first scene of the third and last act of *Melusina*, Grillparzer portrays graphically the reciprocal relationship existing between the artist and his art, and the responsibility which the artist has toward the goddess Art when he has once pledged himself to her. *She* has sacrificed perfection in descending to the material realm, *she* has entrusted herself to *his* keeping, made herself dependent upon the integrity of the artist, and it is *his* highest moral obligation not to betray the trust reposed in him. Grillparzer presents Melusina, grieving and in rags, accompanied by her two sisters who are richly clad and wearing crowns. They reproach Melusina for having demeaned herself through descending to

the mortal plane. "Wenn sich Hohes erniedert, / Wird ihm Erniedrung erwidert; / Um so höher sonst im All, / Um so tiefer auch sein Fall. / Konntest du Menschen beneiden." Melusina replies: "Sie schienen gut, und er schien treu."

Die Schwestern: Strebtest nach menschlichen Freuden;

Melusina: Gefühl der Liebe war mir neu.

Die Schwestern: Sollst du wie Menschen auch leiden!

Melusina: O wie gern! stünd' er mir bei! (256-257)

The scene now shifts to Raimund, filled with remorse for his inconstancy and lack of faith. The earthly beauties in which Troll and Bertha attempt to interest him seem drab and colorless compared to the glories of Melusina's realm from which he is now excluded. Life is unbearable to him and he prays: "Nehmt mich fort aus diesen Tagen, / Denn mein Glück schwand wie ein Hauch; / Fehlte Kraft mir, es zu tragen, / Zu entbehren fehlt sie auch! / Und schien sie strafbar, hätt' ich's geklagt! / Hab' ich gesprochen? Hab' ich gefragt? / Nein, ich verwarf sie, stieß sie von mir, / Ach, und mein Glück und mein Alles mit ihr!" (259). Bertha and her brother try to persuade Raimund to give up Melusina's ring, feeling that he can thus free himself from her spell and his misery, but at first he refuses. Finally, in the depths of his despair and unhappiness the Count gets him to assert that Melusina was merely a delusion and that he would not want to return to her even if he could. Doubt gains possession of the artist's soul and although he is unwilling for the present to give up Melusina's ring, i. e., to renounce his art irrevocably, he now seeks human pleasures and acclaim. His fellow knights restore him once more to his position among them. Bertha is prepared to become his wife. Wine is brought, and the chorus of knights sings: "Raimund, / Wir grüßen dich! / Willst dich als unser beweisen, / Gürt um die Hüfte das Eisen. / Füge dich liebendem Band! / Becher nimm in die Hand! Ritter . . . Mann" (263). Raimund responds: "Ich bin es! Wer bezweifelt's? Ich will es zeigen, / Ich will es sein!" But to his inner self he says: "Herz, willst du schweigen? / Flüstre nicht ein!"

Raimund throws himself into the midst of the festivities in an effort to drown out the inner voice, and ends by pledging himself to Bertha: „Künftig dein gehör' ich ganz!" (264). Inadvertently, he touches Melusina's ring and she appears briefly. He tears her ring from his finger and, as he casts it from him, it is eagerly snatched by a spirit from Melusina's realm. Instant remorse seizes Raimund and he vainly attempts to recover the ring. The fleeing spirit tells him he can regain it only in death. "So will ich sterben!" cries Raimund, and follows. The spirit casts the ring into an open grave and Raimund plunges after it, praying to the spirit: "Bist du der Tod, bring mich zu ihr! / Und sterbend, endend dank' ich dir!" A moment later a cloud rises from the grave and, in the midst of the cloud, gloriously arrayed, sits Melusina, while

Raimund, clothed in pure white, kneels before her and then rises to join her.

The mortal Raimund had sinned against loyalty and had committed sacrilege by spying upon Melusina in her degradation; he had sought to know completely the being that she was. Faith and loyalty demand that the human shall not seek to encompass completely the infinite and the eternal. To seek to do so is to be guilty of "hybris." Only through unquestioning faith and devotion can the human be worthy of union with Art, which descends from the limitless realms of the ideal and becomes subject to the limitations of the finite in order to be given form and become manifest through the artist. Raimund had thrown away the ring which united and guaranteed the union of Art and Life, thus cutting himself off forever, as a human, from Art and her sublime realm. His death, however, frees him from the physical nature which separates the eternal idea from its realization, and in the fusing of his existence with the eternal existence Raimund, the artist, is enabled to be united forever with art in its essence.

As the curtain falls, the chorus sings: "Wem sich höhre Mächte künden, / Muß auf ewig sich verbünden, / Oder nahen mög' er nie: Halben Dienst verschmähen sie" (268). Nothing short of complete devotion is acceptable from one who pledges his life to Art. The imperfections and weaknesses of mortality, however, make such flawless devotion a fundamental impossibility, and this, for Grillparzer, is the tragedy of the artist's existence. Grillparzer's *Melusina* sets forth, in even greater detail than *Sappho*, his basic theme of *le malheur d'être poète* — the impossible position of the artist caught between Art and Life. For the artist, the world is tragic by its very nature through the metaphysical interrelationship between eternal existence and temporal manifestation. Art is inevitably defiled in its manifestation, and the manifestation, in its hopeless striving after its prototype, the idea, is tormented by its own imperfection and inadequacy. There can be no peace, no happiness, and no consummation except through the return of all manifestation to the eternal realm of the idea. For Grillparzer, death offers the only real solution to the artist's dilemma.



GOETHE'S "UNTERHALTUNGEN DEUTSCHER AUSGEWANDERTEN": A REAPPRAISAL

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In view of the great wealth of material that has appeared within recent years it seems, at first, rather presumptuous to offer still another paper on Goethe's *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*. Yet a closer examination of the various books and articles that deal principally or incidentally with Goethe's work reveals that most of them are not concerned with the *Unterhaltungen* as an artistic entity, but that rather they restrict themselves to the analysis of some particular aspect of the whole.

The earliest commentators (Heinrich Düntzer, Max Herrmann, Friedrich Meyer von Waldeck) were interested primarily in the sources of the individual stories, and, in general, their findings have been accepted unconditionally by more recent scholars who, absorbed in other problems, have not re-examined the tales in conjunction with the French originals. Thus certain misconceptions concerning Goethe's treatment of his sources have been perpetuated ever since Düntzer. The next matter that caught the attention of scholars was the theory of the *Novelle* as implied in the conversations of the *Unterhaltungen*. Significantly, however, most of these studies (Adolf von Grolman, E. K. Bennett, Johannes Klein, Benno von Wiese) consider Goethe's work not as an independent creation, but only as the connecting link between the Romance novella and its German off-shoot; and so their observations, often quite penetrating, pertain more directly to the *Novelle* as a genre than to Goethe's product as a unique work of intrinsic value. Under the impact of sociological theories of literature some critics (notably Hermann Pongs and Josef Kunz) then devoted their energies to an analysis of the framework of the stories, a consideration that had been largely neglected. In this connection they speak at length of the struggle of the cultured individual for security against a threatening chaos, and their results are highly interesting since they reveal the great relevance of Goethe's book for modern times. Yet they contribute little or nothing to the understanding of the story cycle in its entirety — as a work of art and not as a sociological document. Recently certain writers (Bernhard von Arx and Josef Kunz), seeking in an offhand manner to do justice to the *Unterhaltungen* as a work of art, have suggested tentative analyses of the interaction of the framework and the individual stories. So far these attempts have not extended beyond casual mention in the concluding paragraphs of chapters dealing chiefly with other problems.

Thus one can find numerous comparisons of Goethe and Boccaccio, countless discussions of Goethe's rôle in the development of the German

Novelle, and ample elucidation of the social significance of the framework. But nowhere, to my knowledge, can the inquisitive student find a study dealing generally with the *Unterhaltungen*, in which its various aspects remain subservient to the work as a whole. This paper is an attempt to fill that need.

I

On November 7, 1794, Schiller reported to Körner that Goethe had undertaken the composition of a series of stories "im Geschmack des 'Decameron' des Boccacaz." A week and a half earlier (on October 28) Schiller had proposed that Goethe work out "die Geschichte des ehrlichen Prokurators" for the first numbers of the *Horen* in 1795. His very preoccupation with this story probably inspired Goethe with the notion of fitting a whole series of tales into a framework on the order of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.¹ On the second of November he wrote to Schiller: "... überhaupt gedenke ich aber wie die Erzählerin in der 'Tausend und einen Nacht' zu verfahren."

In the course of the year 1795 the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*, as Goethe ultimately conceived his collection of stories, duly appeared in Schiller's journal. Goethe originally envisaged a much more comprehensive collection than he actually published. He had already drawn up the outline for a second fairy tale, which was to follow the "Märchen" now concluding the series (letter to Schiller, December 15, 1795), and he also planned to incorporate into the *Unterhaltungen* several tales that eventually found their way into *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*: "Die pilgernde Törin," "Sankt Joseph der Zweite," "Der Mann von fünfzig Jahren," and "Die neue Melusine." But the rather cool reception of the work, coupled with his renewed efforts with the *Lehrjahre*, caused Goethe to put the matter aside temporarily, and he never returned to it despite the occasional references that appear in his letters and conversations. Thus the work remained a fragment and must be regarded as such.

Although Goethe was consciously attempting here to adapt the Romance novella to German artistic exigencies, he still adhered largely to tradition as far as the formal structure of the novella and its framework are concerned. Hence his innovations can be measured only by comparison with older Romance collections. Apart from Boccaccio's *Decameron* and the *Arabian Nights*, Goethe was familiar with many other narrative cycles: the *Heptameron* of the Queen of Navarre, the *Cente nouvelles nouvelles*, and the *Ducento Novelle* of Celio Malespini, among others.²

¹ Schiller assumed wrongly that this story was taken "aus dem Boccacaz." It is commonly held that precisely this mistake led Goethe to the idea of a framework cycle.

² Cervantes' *Novelas Ejemplares* do not come into question in this connection

Yet he chose Boccaccio as his model, and it is worthwhile to undertake a brief comparison of the framework techniques of the two collections.³ The characters of the *Unterhaltungen*, like those of the *Decameron*, are fleeing before a great evil that has suddenly erupted in their midst, threatening to destroy the traditions and ideals they have always cherished: in the older work this evil is the plague that devastated Florence in 1348; for Goethe it is the French Revolution, which drives a family of German nobility into exile from their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. Superficially the fiction of the two works is the same: in order to oppose this threatening chaos, the fugitive groups decide to avoid all mention of current events and to withdraw into the protection of social form. To fill the need for discourse, they resolve to devote a part of each day – the social hours when all members assemble for mutual entertainment – to the telling of tales. But at this point the similarity ends. For Boccaccio the plague actually loses all significance as soon as it has driven the ten young ladies and gentlemen out of the city: it is purely an instigation. The framework is a framework in the strictest sense of the word, for it never interacts with the events depicted in the stories. Boccaccio is simply not interested in his framework. He does not delineate the characters of the ten participants; no real conflicts develop among the figures; the love motif that is implied at the beginning is not carried out. One might say that in the *Decameron* the stories are the *raison d'être* for the framework, and not vice versa. The young people remain together for fifteen days and then separate merely because Boccaccio has finished telling his stories. Their resolution to while away the hours by recounting tales instead of resorting to the other amusements that stand at their disposal is highly arbitrary. The king or queen for the day proposes a certain theme, and each participant must then contribute a relevant story. All spontaneity is lost, and the reader regards the framework as a tedious interruption rather than as an integral component of the work.

The matter has an entirely different aspect in Goethe's *Unterhaltungen*. He was striving to produce a more natural and spontaneous framework for his stories, and the framework interested him at least as

although Cervantes contributed greatly to Goethe's conception of the novella as a vehicle for moral observations (e.g. the tales "Der Prokurator" and "Ferdinand und Ottilie"). Since the tales are not placed in a social framework either by the fiction of the cycle (as in the *Decameron* and *The Arabian Nights*) or by actual tradition (as in the history of the *Heptameron* and the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*), they were of no help to Goethe in solving problems regarding the interaction of framework and stories. Structurally, moreover, the *Novelas Ejemplares* are more loosely organized than the novellas in the Italian and French tradition.

³ Josef Kunz, "Geschichte der deutschen Novelle vom 18. Jahrhundert bis auf die Gegenwart," *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, ed. Wolfgang Stammer (Berlin/Bielefeld/München, 1954), II, cols. 1739-1746, presents an interesting comparison of the two works from quite different points of view; he deals, in brief, with the greater insecurity in the face of destiny that threatens Goethe's characters and with Goethe's narrative objectivity in contrast with Boccaccio's irony.

much as the individual tales.⁴ Moreover, he does not describe the Revolution objectively, as Boccaccio portrayed the plague; instead, he reveals the terrors of the French Revolution only through the effect that it exercises upon the various characters.⁵ Conversely, this technique allows us to become acquainted with the personalities of these central figures by indirect characterization. Through their respective reactions to contemporary events the reader recognizes the vehemence of the idealistic hotspur Karl and the steady, reliable composure of the rationalistic Fritz. We understand that Luise lives in constant fear for the life of her fiancé and that her impertinences toward the old chaplain can be partially ascribed to this unremitting nervous tension. Here, too, the "good form" of the baroness and her insistence on social propriety are vividly disclosed.

By the time the baroness forbids all further political discussions the reader has acquired a clear insight into the characters of the main figures. Only now is it possible to go on to the stories, for Goethe — in contrast to Boccaccio — is very much interested in the relationship of the narrator and listeners to the narrated matter.⁶ He tries to duplicate the conditions of normal social intercourse, for it is his wish to show first how each story arises naturally from the mood of the instant and then how the narrative affects the individual listeners. Before this is possible, of course, it is first necessary to cast the characters of the society into clear relief.

The decision to substitute stories for the more obvious subjects of casual conversation is motivated more naturally here than in Boccaccio. Differing political opinions lead to a violent quarrel between Karl and a visiting Privy Councillor, who departs angrily with his family. After she has forgiven Karl, the baroness takes steps to insure that a similar social catastrophe will not occur again; she stresses the fact that conditions have caused them to forget, for a time, the consideration and tact demanded by good breeding: "Wir haben eine ernsthafte Unterredung gehabt, die, wie ich hoffe, Friede und Einigkeit unter uns herstellen und den guten Ton, den wir eine Zeitlang vermissen, wieder unter uns einführen soll" (139).⁷ She goes on to request that "alle Unterhaltung

⁴ Bernhard von Arx, *Novellistisches Dasein: Spielraum einer Gattung in der Goethezeit* (Zürich, 1953), p. 29, conjectures rather radically: "Ja, selbst der Rahmen ohne die Geschichten wäre denkbar."

⁵ Hermann Pongs, "Grundlagen der deutschen Novelle des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Das Bild in der Dichtung* (Marburg, 1939), II, 124: "Nur gibt Goethe dieses Chaos nicht in der schauerlichen Sachlichkeit Boccaccios, er verinnerlicht es, gibt es intim sozusagen, in seiner geistigen Wirkung."

⁶ E. K. Bennett, *A History of the German Novelle from Goethe to Thomas Mann* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 29: "... for Goethe as for Boccaccio, the telling of stories was regarded as a social accomplishment which could be utilized for the reassertion and preservation of a certain equilibrium in social intercourse." But Bennett fails to point out the differences, which are equally important.

⁷ I quote from Vol. VI of *Goethes Werke*, ed. Erich Trunz (Hamburg, 1951).

über das Interesse des Tages" be banned from group discussion and be limited to private conversation. She suggests that they revert to a more normal program: they will be entertained by Karl's descriptions of his travels, observations on history by the *Hofmeister*, poems by the ladies, and various other similarly edifying discourses. This proposal is eagerly seized upon by the others.

At this point the elderly chaplain enters the room and is informed of the new resolution. He remarks that this stipulation involves no difficulty or inconvenience for any person who is accustomed to rely upon his own interests for amusement. In this passage he clearly reveals himself as a man who is greatly bewildered by the epoch-making affairs of the world; he is not like the abbé in *Wilhelm Meister*, who feels at ease in every worldly situation,⁸ but rather he is a calm observer of life in minuscule. It is his pleasure to look on quietly and to write down little anecdotes and stories that seem "nur irgend einen Charakter zu haben" (143). As his contribution to the entertainment of the group he now declares himself prepared to share his collection of sketches with the others. This is the state of affairs that leads to the first evening of narration.

Unquestionably it was in this sense that Goethe entitled his work *Unterhaltungen*. The chaplain's stories comprise only a part of the general entertainment, for the setting would have been too artificial if he had continued programmatically to read one of his tales each morning and evening. If the work ended at this point, one might well imagine that the remainder was to consist of poems, travelogues, and edifying lectures, as well as stories from the chaplain's notebooks. The displeasure of many critics is based largely on a misconception of the whole: they wish to find a *Novelle* of perfect form in each anecdote whereas the stories are conceived primarily as entertainment and are only incidentally and accidentally *Novellen*. This consideration brings us to an important corollary problem of the framework, namely, the *Novellen-theory*.

II

The *Unterhaltungen* does not provide us with a consistent and systematic theory of novellistic art that would satisfy the standard requirements of literary criticism; indeed, Goethe does not even use the expression "*Novelle*" in this work. Yet in the conversations of the framework certain principles may be uncovered that do pertain to a theory of the genre. The most significant passages are to be found in the speeches of the chaplain and the baroness.

In his talk with the baroness and Luise the old gentleman asserts: "Was gibt einer Begebenheit den Reiz? Nicht ihre Wichtigkeit, nicht der Einfluß, den sie hat, sondern die Neuheit" (141). He has still more

⁸ I feel that Trunz, p. 600, misunderstands the character of the chaplain when he writes: "... denn er ist ein Weltmann wie der Abbé der *Lehrjahre*."

to say on this point, but it is actually not relevant to the theme because he is speaking here rather condescendingly of ordinary gossip.⁹ The stories that he has always observed with interest and written down have a much higher value: there are many "die noch einen reineren, schöneren Reiz haben als den Reiz der Neuheit" (143). Thus he places his tales *a priori* on a higher level than that of everyday conversation. One might say in general that he considers them to be works of art without, however, bothering to define more closely the genre or its characteristics.

He goes on: there are some "die durch eine geistreiche Wendung uns immer zu erheitern Anspruch machen, manche, die uns die menschliche Natur und ihre inneren Verborgenenheiten auf einen Augenblick eröffnen, andere wieder, deren sonderbare Albernheiten uns ergetzen" (143). Here we are approaching a closer specification of the genre, yet the remarks are still not normative, but simply illustrative. The "geistreiche Wendung" might perhaps be designated as *pointe*, and one thinks immediately of Boccaccio's stories of purely anecdotal nature that serve merely to introduce a clever punch-line. The stories "deren sonderbare Albernheiten uns ergetzen" are surely nothing but farces. These two types have the sole purpose of amusing the hearer.

The third type, however, goes somewhat deeper and wishes not only to delight the hearer with witty retorts and buffoonery, but to afford him an instructive glance into human nature. The chaplain defines this type more closely: "Sie behandeln . . . gewöhnlich die Empfindungen, wodurch Männer und Frauen verbunden oder entzweit, glücklich oder unglücklich gemacht, öfter aber verwirrt als aufgeklärt werden" (143). Thus he regards emotional confusion as a main component of the Novelle. This confusion arises in situations where the good man finds himself "in leichtem Widerspruch mit sich selbst, seinen Begierden und seinen Vorsätzen" (144). The agent of confusion is chance,¹⁰ for the contemplative man prefers to make his quiet observations "da, wo der Zufall mit der menschlichen Schwäche und Unzulänglichkeit spielt" (145). In this connection chance assumes almost the proportions of fate, for "jede Anmaßung" is punished "auf eine natürliche, ja auf eine zufällige Weise" (144).

The fable or plot of the stories holds little fascination for the chaplain. He maintains, for instance, that the story of Ferdinand and Otilie "nur durch eine genaue Darstellung dessen, was in den Gemütern vor-

⁹ Hermann Pongs, p. 125, seems to misinterpret this passage when he asserts: "In ihrem Geist wird als das wichtigste für die Gesellschaft der Reiz der Neuheit erkannt"; similarly E. K. Bennett, p. 29. Johannes Klein, *Geschichte der deutschen Novelle von Goethe bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 35, realizes that the chaplain's statement is ironical.

¹⁰ Here we are dealing with one of Goethe's favorite concepts. It is perhaps noteworthy that the *Unterhaltungen* was written precisely at the time when Goethe was occupied with the *Lebrjahre*, in which the problem of chance and destiny assumed great significance.

ging, neu und interessant werden dürfte" (187-188). Likewise, a tale holds his attention only in so far as it reveals some moral development; the fate of its characters after the turning point, the peripeteia, is secondary. For this reason he breaks off the story of Ferdinand and Ottilie after the son has effected the reconciliation with his parents; he must be expressly bidden by Luise to recount the further course of Ferdinand's life.¹¹

In retrospect we now see that the demands of the chaplain concern nothing but the substance of the stories. He says nothing about their form, and he remains more or less indifferent to the plot. His interests are reserved for the feelings and sensitivities of people as they are revealed at certain decisive moments in life. He looks for the fateful effect of chance which, to a certain extent, alters the life of a good person.

If the chaplain confines himself in his criticism largely to the substance (*Gehalt*), then the baroness turns to the other important question of art: the matter of form (*Gestalt*). Just as she forbade political discussions solely for the reason that they threatened to disrupt the good form of society, now she demands that each story be clothed in a suitable tone and that it conform to the accepted moderation of good society. Her utterances fall into two categories: negative and positive. As an example of the former:

Jene Erzählungen machen mir keine Freude, bei welchen nach Weise der "Tausendundeinen Nacht" eine Begebenheit in die andere eingeschachtelt, ein Interesse durch das andere verdrängt wird, wo sich der Erzähler genötigt sieht, die Neugierde, die er auf eine leichtsinnige Weise erregt hat, durch Unterbrechung zu reizen und die Aufmerksamkeit, anstatt sie durch eine vernünftige Folge zu befriedigen, nur durch seltsame und keineswegs lobenswürdige Kunstgriffe aufzuspannen. Ich tadle das Bestreben, aus Geschichten, die sich der Einheit des Gedichts nähern sollen, rhapsodische Rätsel zu machen und den Geschmack immer tiefer zu verderben. (166)

In a word, she objects to stories that do not adhere to the principle of unity and do not have a clear beginning, middle, and end. She does not find fault with the framework fiction of the *Arabian Nights* as such, but rather with the lack of unity and totality in the individual stories, which normally have no definite end, evoking the following episode from their own content. Her apodictic assertion can thus be reconciled with Goethe's utterance in the quoted letter to Schiller, for Goethe was thinking of the stories of Scheherezade as an archetype of the framework technique in general, whereas the baroness objects to the form of the tales within the framework.¹² She would certainly be satisfied with a

¹¹ Myra R. Jessen, "Spannungsgefüge und Stilisierung in den Goetheschen Novellen," *PMLA*, LV (1940), 449: "Aber die eigentliche Geschichte, wie der Alte versichert, ist schon zu Ende."

¹² Bernhard von Arx, p. 27, misconstrues the baroness' objection when he writes: "Goethe selbst war, trotz der gegenteiligen Aussage und Forderung der Baroness

framework story if its individual parts corresponded to her criteria.

The desire for unity leads to the positive side of her criticism. Like the chaplain, she places no restriction upon the material of the tale, but she demands good form and the proper tone: "Die Gegenstände Ihrer Erzählungen gebe ich Ihnen ganz frei; aber lassen Sie uns wenigstens an der Form sehen, daß wir in guter Gesellschaft sind" (166-167). She goes on to give a rather apt definition of the classical work of art:

Geben Sie uns zum Anfang eine Geschichte von wenig Personen und Begebenheiten, die gut erfunden und gedacht ist, wahr, natürlich und nicht gemein, soviel Handlung als unentbehrlich und soviel Gesinnung als nötig, die nicht still steht, sich nicht auf einem Flecke zu langsam bewegt, sich aber auch nicht übereilt, in der die Menschen erscheinen, wie man sie gern mag, nicht vollkommen, aber gut, nicht außerordentlich, aber interessant und liebenswürdig. Ihre Geschichte sei unterhaltend, solange wir sie hören, befriedigend, wenn sie zu Ende ist, und hinterlasse uns einen stillen Reiz, weiter nachzudenken. (167)

This passage requires little elucidation. The two main principles, again, are classical unity and moderation; the rest is corollary. Her requirements overlap to a certain extent with those of the chaplain. She sees man from the standpoint of form as a product of *Erziehung*; he regards people from the standpoint of substance as a product of *Bildung*. She wishes to see figures that are "nicht vollkommen, aber gut"; he prefers to see a good man "in leichtem Widerspruch mit sich selbst," therefore not perfect either. To this extent the two theoreticians agree.

As far as form is concerned, however, the baroness has a firm concept that is absent from the chaplain's thinking since he heeds only the human element. He includes all sorts of stories in his collection as long as they satisfy his sense for moral content or substance in human life. The baroness, on the other hand, displays a feeling for form that she has inherited from the *ancien régime*.¹³ Hence the chaplain feels himself constrained to put away the story he had selected for the first morning of entertainment, for it does not fulfill the formal standards of the baroness; instead, he narrates the stylistically excellent story of the "Prokurator." But a discussion of the individual tales leads us directly into another problem.

III

With regard to the individual stories it is necessary to remember at in den 'Unterhaltungen' selbst, gewillt, eine Art von 'Tausend und Einer Nacht' zu liefern, so nämlich, daß eine Erzählung durch die andere hervorgerufen würde."

¹³ The scholars concerned with Goethe's Novellen-theory do not take the dramatic moment into consideration in this connection. For instance, Benno von Wiese, *Die deutsche Novelle von Goethe bis Kafka* (Düsseldorf, 1956), pp. 19-20, quotes the remarks of the baroness and the chaplain with no distinction whatsoever. Cf. also Adolf von Grolman, "Novelle," *Merker-Stammler Reallexikon* (Berlin, 1926/28), II, 511. Only Johannes Klein, p. 35, mentions the fact that the Novelle-theory is developed dialectically and not stated apodictically.

every moment, first, that Goethe was writing *Unterhaltungen* in the broadest sense of the word and, second, that the work as it stands before us is a fragment. For not every story in the collection can be called a *Novelle*, nor did Goethe intend to present us with a group of model *Novellen*. Rather, he sought to duplicate the circumstances of normal social intercourse, where a word or a minor incident can summon up an anecdote, a joke, or, in certain cases, a form-conscious narrative. Moreover, if Goethe has not included here a single story that fully conforms to the theoretical stipulations which he allows the chaplain and the baroness to pronounce, it must be recalled that the work is unfinished and that, perhaps, the finished product might have contained *Novellen* that more closely approximated his ideal pattern.

First of all, it is essential to understand the sequence of the various stories. Including the *Märchen*, there are seven narratives of varying length; they may be divided into three groups: 1) "Die Sängerin Antonelli," "Der Klopfggeist," and the two anecdotes from the memoirs of Bassompierre are related on the first evening while the baroness is absent (only the first is recounted by the chaplain; Fritz narrates the second and Karl the last two); 2) "Der Prokurator" and "Ferdinand und Ottilie" are related by the chaplain on the following morning to the assembled group; 3) that same evening he tells the *Märchen*. It is noteworthy that the baroness is *not* present on the first evening, for the four stories are all precisely of the type to which she objects: loosely structured anecdotes of the miraculous that are neither stylistically complete nor rationally satisfying. She would not have forbidden these stories since they are part and parcel of general conversation and entertainment as she has described it. But her theoretical remarks on the following morning produce a highly dramatic effect since they stand in direct contrast to the stories of the preceding evening.

The first four stories may be dealt with briefly, for none of them represents a serious attempt to fulfill the standards established by the chaplain and the baroness. "Die Sängerin Antonelli" is a free treatment of an anecdote that the famous French actress Hippolyte Clairon relates in a letter to J. H. Meister in Zürich. This letter was printed for the first time in 1799, but Goethe became acquainted with the material as early as 1794 through Prince August von Gotha. Although "Antonelli" is a free retelling, it still seems certain that Goethe had a written source,¹⁴ for many passages seem to be pure translations from the original. Two examples should suffice to demonstrate this point:

Comme il me souhaitait le bon soir à ma porte, le cri partit entre lui et moi. Ainsi que tout Paris, il savait cette histoire: cependant, on

¹⁴ Here I disagree with Heinrich Düntzer, *Erläuterungen zu Goethes Werken* (Leipzig, 1873), XV/1, 99; Max Herrmann, *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, XVI, xlvii; and Trunz, p. 610 — all of whom assume that Goethe had only an oral source or did not have access to a written copy of Clairon's own version.

le remit dans sa voiture plus mort que vivant.¹⁵

Als sie vor ihrer Türe von ihm Abschied nimmt, entsteht der Klang zwischen ihnen beiden, und man hebt diesen Mann, der so gut wie tausend andere die Geschichte wußte, mehr tot als lebendig in seinen Wagen. (153)

Nous sommes au bout du monde; il fait le temps le plus affreux; le cri serait bien embarrassé d'avoir à nous chercher ici¹⁶

Wir sind hier am Ende der Welt, und das Wetter ist abscheulich, sollte er uns wohl hier finden können? (154)

The fact that Goethe had a written copy before him is evinced further by the painstaking exactitude with which he adheres to the sequence of events in the original: the two versions are precisely parallel. And yet it is not a translation as is the case in the anecdotes from Bassompierre. The cited passages show the two most significant technical changes. In the first place, Goethe puts the story into the chaplain's mouth, who speaks as though he had been a witness of the events; thus Clairon's first-person narrative is changed to a report in the third person. Secondly, Goethe changes the names out of consideration for the still living Clairon, and he transfers the scene from Paris to Naples. But all of this is superficial. The important change is the expansion of the introduction: Goethe explains the relation between the singer and her friend much more exhaustively. For Clairon that is all simply exposition; she is interested only in the supernatural aspect of her experience. Goethe, to be sure, relates the story precisely because of its miraculous element, but he elevates the human interest to the same level of significance. In the last analysis, however, this longest of the first four stories remains little more than an "Anekdote des Wunderbaren," as Hermann Pongs has chosen to designate the type (page 128). It satisfies neither the standards of the chaplain nor those of the baroness. With regard to substance, the mysterious sounds do not really affect the singer; the miraculous happens *around* her, as it were, or in her presence, but she is not stirred in her heart. It is a loose tale without unity, with many unimportant figures, and it stimulates curiosity without satisfying it in a rational manner.

The second story is of the same general nature, but considerably shorter. Goethe heard the anecdote from a certain Herr von Pannewitz, and he relates it here as a parallel to the first story.

The two tales from the memoirs of Bassompierre are almost pure translations,¹⁷ but a few highly characteristic changes may be observed.

¹⁵ Hippolyte Clairon, *Mémoires et Réflexions* (Paris, 1799), p. 173.

¹⁶ Clairon, p. 174.

¹⁷ It is interesting to compare Goethe's treatment with those of two modern writers. Hugo von Hofmannsthal used the first incident in his "Erlebnis des Marschalls von Bassompierre," and Emil Strauß employed the second in "Der Schleier." Hofmannsthal retained the precise structure of Bassompierre's sketch, but he filled the outline with lengthy lyrical and psychological passages. Strauß took only the "Falke" from the source — the veil — and created an entirely new story.

Friedrich Meyer von Waldeck¹⁸ and Werner Kraft¹⁹ have exhausted all the possibilities of comparison in the first story – the one made famous by Hugo von Hofmannsthal – but since their results are consistently ignored by modern studies, it seems worthwhile to recapitulate the two main points. The first matter is structural: since the entire anecdote hinges upon the plague, Goethe inserts at the beginning a little remark that prepares us for the ending and adds considerable unity to the structure:

Il me dit qu'il connoissoit une maquerele, nommée Noirot, cheux quy il la meneroit, et que sy je voulois qu'il portat des matelats, des draps, et des couvertes de mon logis, qu'il m'y appresteroit un bon lit.²⁰

Er antwortete, daß er sie zu einer gewissen Kupplerin führen wollte, rate mir aber, weil die Pest sich hier und da zeige, Matratzen, Decken und Leintücher aus meinem Hause hinbringen zu lassen. Ich nahm den Vorschlag an, und er versprach, mir ein gutes Bett zu bereiten. (162)

In context this anticipation lends an aura of fate to the ensuing events. Bassompierre, however, makes no preliminary mention of the plague. Yet more typical for Goethe is the second change, which is a concession to "good form." Numerous examples might be cited here; I shall restrict myself to the most vivid:

Ich weiß recht gut, mein Herr, daß ich in ein schändliches Haus um Ihrentwillen gekommen bin; aber ich habe es freiwillig getan, und ich hatte ein so unüberwindliches Verlangen, mit Ihnen zu sein, daß ich jede Bedingung eingegangen wäre. (163)

Monsieur, je sçay bien que je suis en un bordel infame, ou je suis venue de bon coeur pour vous voir, de quy je suis sy amoureuse, que, pour jouir de vous, je crois que je l'eusse permis au milieu de la rue, plustot que de m'en passer.²¹

Obviously the untrammelled lust of Bassompierre's seventeenth-century wench is not suitable for the sedate salon of Goethe's baroness!

As far as the second tale is concerned, it should be mentioned that Goethe dismisses the notion that the paramour of the hero was a fairy, as Bassompierre asserts. Goethe causes the little love affair to take place entirely in the realm of reality. Thus, although the element of mystery is still present and the debt of this story to the fairy tale is patent, he departs in these two stories from the purely miraculous. The new element here is love, which played a completely subordinate rôle in the first anecdotes.

¹⁸ "Die Memoiren des Marschalls von Bassompierre und Goethes Unterhaltungen der Ausgewanderten," *Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, LXXXVII (1891), 252-255.

¹⁹ "Von Bassompierre zu Hofmannsthal: Zur Geschichte eines Novellenmotivs," *Revue de Littérature comparée*, XV (1935), 481-490, 694-725.

²⁰ François de Bassompierre, *Journal de ma Vie. Mémoires* (Paris, 1870), I, 185.

²¹ Bassompierre, I, 186.

With the two following tales we arrive in more fruitful territory. The source for the "Prokurator" was the renowned collection of *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, which was first printed in 1486.²² Goethe's version is a free translation from the French, which, though it remains close to the original, is by no means so faithful as many scholars seem to believe.²³ We can pass over the external deviations, for they are too numerous to recount, and yet they amount, *in toto*, to nothing more than concessions to "good form." Let us consider instead the much more significant matter of changes in the substance of the story. A purely statistical comparison shows us where we must look. Goethe's story has 696 lines; "Le saige Nicaise ou l'amant vertueux" (the last story in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*) has 565 lines.²⁴ If we divide the plot into eight natural parts, then it becomes immediately evident that Goethe has altered the *relative* number of lines at several significant points. The following table should make this clear; since we are dealing with relative figures, it is immaterial which editions are used, for the percentages will remain constant:

	Goethe		Original		Difference
	Lines	%	Lines	%	%
1. Introduction	89	13	71	13	0
2. Marriage	94	14	84	15	1
3. Merchant's Talk with Wife	98	14	122	22	8
4. Interlude	80	11	44	8	3
5. Her Decision	63	9	31	5	4
6. Preparations for Prokurator	28	4	57	10	6
7. Wife's Talk with Prokurator	155	22	97	17	5
8. Conclusion	89	13	59	10	3
TOTALS	696	100	565	100	

This statistical comparison reveals where Goethe has shifted the emphasis in his version; it remains to be determined why he did so. The introduction as well as the merchant's decision to marry and the wedding remain proportionately equal, for these passages contain essential exposition. But Goethe then deletes a great part of the merchant's rationalizing speech to his young wife; this is a result of his tendency to shift the importance to the moral decision of the wife and away from her husband's shrewd precautions. The interlude after the husband's departure and, more important, the wife's decision to take on the *Prokurator* as her lover are considerably expanded: Goethe wishes his heroine to spend more time in deliberation and to make a conscious moral decision before acting. Her preparations for the young man's visit are

²² Concerning the various European versions of this tale, including the text of the Latin original, cf. Max Herrmann, "Die lateinische 'Marina,'" *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, III (1890), 1-27.

²³ Trunz, p. 611: "Goethe behält in seiner Prokurator Geschichte die Struktur der französischen Fassung vollkommen bei"; cf. also pp. 603 and 606. Goethe's treatment, moreover, amounts to more than what Pongs, p. 130, classes as "geistige Durchformung des Stoffes."

²⁴ In the edition by Paul Lacroix (Paris, 1884), pp. 375-392.

abbreviated as insignificant, but her conversation with him is lengthened in order to allow room for a full depiction of the human side of their relations; the original presents only the bare essentials of the plot. Finally, Goethe adds an expressly moralizing conclusion to the story. In general, then, he shifts the emphasis from the first half of the tale to the second part, thereby allowing the characters of the wife and the *Prokurator*, who in the original are subordinate to the plot, to develop into real personalities; and he supplies moral substance to the purely objective plot of the French source.

This story complies well with the theoretical demands outlined by the chaplain. We have here "die Empfindungen, wodurch Männer und Frauen verbunden oder entzweiet . . . werden"; moreover the wife's decision to take a lover is based upon emotional confusion (which, to be sure, is subsequently rectified); chance leads her to precisely this man; and Goethe, by his subtle additions, makes the story interesting "durch eine genaue Darstellung dessen, was in den Gemütern vorging." The form corresponds just as neatly to the standards of the baroness, for the good tone of cultivated society prevails throughout; the plot does not deviate, but achieves strict unity of purpose — namely, the preservation of the wife's virtue; the number of characters is limited, as well as the number of incidents; and the action progresses linearly at a measured, dignified pace.

Thus the story realizes every detail of the outlined theory. And yet it must be conceded that the tale as a whole does not ring true. For Goethe chose a ready-made *Novelle*-skeleton that satisfied his formalistic needs; but he then created a moral substance, which he sought forcefully to adapt to this skeleton, and consequently a few of the original bones still project from the artificially constructed cadaver. The story is intended to demonstrate "daß der Mensch in sich eine Kraft habe, aus Überzeugung eines Bessern selbst gegen seine Neigung zu handeln" (186). This is shown, to be sure, but the moralizing conclusion is loosely attached, and through the lofty moral sentiments of the young wife we can still perceive the sheer exhaustion and physical incapacity of the Renaissance lady in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The "Prokurator" remains a perfect illustration of Goethe's theoretical criteria although the *Novelle* as a whole is not convincing.

The last story, "Ferdinand and Ottilie," is Goethe's free invention, and no comparison with an original is possible. In accordance with the wish of the baroness, it is related as a parallel story to the "Prokurator" and it illustrates the same moral thesis as the former. Chance is portrayed symbolically when Ferdinand's accidental discovery of the broken desk-lid persuades him to yield to his wishes or his inclination to steal. Here we have a case "wo der Zufall mit der menschlichen Schwäche und Unzulänglichkeit spielt." The form, however, does not succeed so well as

in the preceding story. Unity is sorely lacking, for the reader's attention is constantly enticed into side-alleys, and various subsidiary motifs have been woven into the texture, thus destroying the simplicity of the plot. A number of these occur at the beginning: a natural propensity, envy of his father, and love for Ottilie all contribute to Ferdinand's act of theft, but in the end only the relation to Ottilie is worked out. The plot is complicated by continual change of scene and by the addition of a new motif: namely, Ferdinand's sentimental attachment to the niece of a family friend. The discovery that even more money has disappeared is still another confusing factor that detracts from the effect of the whole.²⁵ Finally, the work has actually not one, but two goals: Ferdinand's inner conversion, which occurs approximately in the middle of the story, and, secondly, his reconciliation with his parents. Thus the reader's interest is divided, and everything that comes after the inner conversion has an anticlimactic effect. This story presents even more clearly than the preceding one the chaplain's moral thesis, but it is not really a *Novelle* according to Goethe's own definition. It is perhaps symptomatic that of his two conscious attempts to create a *Novelle* precisely the one that Goethe invented falls short with respect to form. This shortcoming recalls the fact that the *Novelle* was, at the time, a completely new and foreign form in German literature, and even Goethe's genius required practice and experimentation before it could produce, thirty years later, his *Novelle*.

Our analysis of the individual stories may be concluded at this point, for the *Märchen* is of an essentially different genre, and Goethe himself makes a distinction between the stylistic exigencies of the first six stories and the fairy tale, which leaves reality for the realm of pure fantasy. We have seen, then, three types of narrative: two fantastic anecdotes, two love anecdotes, and two moral tales. Only in the latter did Goethe make a conscious attempt to create a *Novelle* that would fulfill his own exacting standards. He would perhaps have represented many other types of narrative if he had carried out his original plans, but as the work exists today, it does not even include all the forms that the chaplain promised at the outset. Yet we must confine ourselves to what is actually present, and in this respect some commentators seem to have misconstrued Goethe's intentions completely.

IV

Moritz Goldstein complains: "Statt mit den versprochenen geschichtlichen, naturwissenschaftlichen, philosophischen Gesprächen einzusetzen, statt uns sogleich des Geistlichen Sammlung von Familienge-

²⁵ In this connection I must disagree with Josef Kunz, col. 1745, who writes: "Die Novellen der 'Unterhaltungen' sind um ein zentrales Motif gebaut und entwickeln dieses ohne Abschweifung und ohne sich in Fremdes zu verlieren." Cf. E. K. Bennett, p. 32: "Technically it has not the same directness and simplicity of form as the earlier story."

schichten vorzulegen, macht das Gespräch eine unerwartete Wendung zum Wunderbaren, verweilt unnötig lange bei unbedeutenden Kleinigkeiten, und erst viel später werden wir mit der Prokurnatornovelle in höhere Regionen geführt."²⁶ This is an absolute value judgment that has no place in this context. Goethe wanted to create a natural framework within which, as in life, the stories proceed directly from the conversations and the atmosphere of the moment.²⁷ The tales themselves had to remain the center of attention, for otherwise the framework would have assumed novel-like proportions. For this reason Goethe generally merely implies the intervening conversations, as we shall see, instead of relating them at length. It was asserted above that Goethe spent a relatively great amount of time on the introduction in order to present a clear picture of the main characters. But as soon as we have become acquainted with these figures, simple hints suffice to indicate what sort of conversation *could* arise under the given conditions. Since Goethe did not wish to write a novel, but only a series of stories, this technique was quite adequate to adumbrate a framework that is true to life. Yet this abbreviation certainly does not indicate any lassitude of his interest in the framework, as Goldstein believes (page 38).

The first group of stories is introduced economically and naturally. In the evening, after the baroness has retired, the others begin to discuss various war rumors. (If the baroness had been present, she would surely have suppressed this conversation!) "Man war dabei, wie es gewöhnlich in solchen Augenblicken zu geschehen pflegt, in Zweifel, was man glauben und was man verwerfen sollte" (146). Any reader, on the basis of what Goethe has already told us, can imagine the conversation: Luise, for example, fears for the life of her betrothed, and Karl expresses a hope that the French forces are waging a successful campaign. Then the chaplain interrupts: "Ich finde am bequemsten, daß wir dasjenige glauben, was uns angenehm ist, ohne Umstände das verwerfen, was uns unangenehm wäre, und daß wir übrigens wahr sein lassen, was wahr sein kann" (146). This sentence has the rather obvious purpose of allaying the fears of the individuals of the group without expressing any partisanship; the chaplain is seeking to create a sociable atmosphere. But as a result of a consistent extension of the thought, the sentence at the same time forms a transition to a discussion of the marvelous, mysterious aspects of life, for in this connection everything depends upon one's faith and one's willingness to believe. "Man redete vom Romanhaften, vom Geisterhaften" (146), and finally the old gentleman is requested to

²⁶ *Die Technik der zyklischen Rahmenerzählungen Deutschlands: Von Goethe bis Hoffmann* (diss. Berlin, 1906), p. 19.

²⁷ Bernhard von Arx, p. 30, understands that the stories gain their full meaning only in their given context, but he does not do justice to the full effect of the interaction when he writes, p. 33: "Die Erzählungen haben die stets gleiche Aufgabe, eine im Rahmen oder im Roman verfolgte Absicht zu unterstreichen." In general, Arx makes the stories subordinate to the framework.

relate a story dealing with these matters: he narrates the adventure of the singer Antonelli. Thereupon: "Die Gesellschaft fing aufs neue an, über die Geschichte zu meinen und zu urteilen" (157).²⁸ At this point Goethe leaves the conversations to the reader's imagination because he intends to relate them in detail after the following story. Only Fritz has a suspicion as to how the incidents of the anecdote might have occurred, but, loving secrets as he does, he reserves his opinion for the future (this is one of the few loose ends in the work!) and recounts the parallel story of the "Klopfgeist." Luise responds to this story with one of her customary sarcastic remarks, whereas Karl, a product of the Enlightenment, regrets that all the circumstances cannot be investigated scientifically.

Suddenly there is a loud noise; the lid of a desk has burst asunder: Alle fahren auf, und Karl sagte scherzend: "Es wird sich doch kein sterbender Liebhaber hören lassen?"

Er hätte gewünscht, seine Worte wieder zurückzunehmen; denn Luise ward bleich und gestand, daß sie für das Leben ihres Bräutigams zitterte. (159)

By means of Karl's jest, a reference to the preceding stories, the framework is once again brought to the center of attention, for it had gradually disappeared behind the stories themselves. At the same time, the split desk is a framework-symbol for the element of the mysterious that has just titillated the group vicariously in stories, but here concerns them directly. After this excitement and the speculation that it involves, no one desires to sleep, and so Karl declares himself willing to make his contribution to the general entertainment: he relates the first story from Bassompierre. It is followed by three highly typical comments. The circumstantial Fritz construes the affair dialectically: he is not sure "ob das artige Weibchen in dem Hause mit an der Pest gestorben oder ob sie es nur dieses Umstands wegen vermieden habe" (165). The fiery Karl, on the other hand, is convinced: "Hätte sie gelebt, . . . so hätte sie ihren Geliebten gewiß auf der Gasse erwartet, und keine Gefahr hätte sie abgehalten, ihn wieder aufzusuchen. Ich fürchte immer, sie hat mit auf dem Tische gelegen" (165). This clear explication frightens Luise, who is already greatly concerned about her fiancé, and Karl quickly narrates the second story from Bassompierre in order to divert her attention. Afterwards Luise recognizes the fairy-tale element of the story, but Fritz, who always knows best, claims that a similar tradition exists in their own family. With this Parthian shot he goes secretly and pompously to bed. The group separates for the night.

On the following morning the group observes "allgemeines Still-

²⁸ Bernard von Arx, pp. 30-31, states in this connection: "Wo man urteilt, hat man schon eine gewisse Distanz Und wenn auch keine befriedigende Lösung gefunden wird, so ist doch durch dieses klare und kühle Abwägen den Vorgängen das Unheimliche weitgehend genommen." This observation ties in the stories with the framework theme of preservation against the chaos of the Revolution.

schweigen" (166), as is often the case when mysterious circumstances give cause for meditation. The conversations and stories of the preceding evening, along with concerns about the progress of the war, still engross the individual members. The chaplain, in order to enliven the embarrassing silence, offers to relate one of his promised stories; he conceals his social intention by a graceful witticism, implying that he makes his offer only owing to artistic ambition. The baroness, who is no doubt puzzled by the conduct of the group, gratefully accepts his offer. But first she states the formalistic criteria that we have already discussed. It is noteworthy that her criticism makes such a direct hit on the stories of the preceding evening, for she was not present herself, after all. This does not imply, however, that Goethe here condemns the first four tales; they belong, perhaps more than the following ones, to social intercourse and entertainment. But with this remark he consciously introduces a new genre: the form-conscious *Novelle*. As a consequence of the baroness' exacting requirements the chaplain decides to forego the story he had in mind, and in its place he relates another one extemporaneously. This apparently minor incident is actually a brilliant device, for a spontaneously narrated story has a much more natural charm than one that is read or recited: spontaneous narration belongs to the tradition of framework stories. Yet at the same time the incident proves, as we have seen already, that the stylistic standards of the chaplain are not so strict as his feeling for moral substance.

After the story the baroness praises the *Prokurator* and expresses the wish to hear still another moral tale: "denn ich liebe mir sehr Parallelgeschichten" (187).²⁰ The chaplain's assertion that all moral tales are identical in essence leads to a lively debate with Luise. In the course of their altercation the old gentleman makes the highly significant statement: "Verwirrungen und Mißverständnisse sind die Quellen des tätigen Lebens und der Unterhaltung" (186). Here we have, so it seems, the central thought of the *Unterhaltungen*, for the conversations of the framework are actually constructed in accordance with this principle. For example, it is a great misunderstanding that leads to the angry departure of the Privy Councillor and the subsequent decision to exclude political discussion altogether from the society; likewise, differences of opinion stimulate the various discussions that serve as transitions from one story to the next. Furthermore, it was expressly stated in the theoretical exposition that "Verwirrung" is an integral part of many good and interesting stories. This sentence, then, represents Goethe's own statement of technique, subtly put into the chaplain's mouth.

²⁰ Here the baroness states explicitly the principle to which Goethe has already adhered implicitly in his presentation of the tales: the principle of parallelism. In this connection Trunz, p. 612, quotes the following passage from a letter from Goethe to Ikon, September 23, 1827: "Da sich manches unserer Erfahrungen nicht rund aussprechen und direkt mitteilen läßt, so habe ich seit langem das Mittel gewählt, durch einander gegenübergestellte und sich gleichsam ineinander abspiegelnde Gebilde den geheimen Sinn der Aufmerksamkeit zu offenbaren."

Finally the chaplain relates the story of Ferdinand and Ottilie. The baroness appends a few remarks to the effect that Ferdinand's principles in conducting his household affairs correspond in general to the principles of government management. But her observations are interrupted by the arrival of Fritz, who had ridden out that morning to determine whether or not his suspicion had been correct: namely, that the desk had burst the evening before, as it were, out of sympathy with its twin in the palace that had burned down overnight. The time and other factors seem to agree. Luise is visibly relieved and immediately accepts this explanation since it alleviates her superstitious fears concerning her betrothed. The *Hofmeister*, however, asserts hyperrationalistically that, "wenn zwei Dinge zusammenträfen, man deswegen noch nicht auf ihren Zusammenhang schließen könne" (208). In any case, Fritz' report has aroused the general imagination: "man ließ der Einbildungskraft abermals vollkommen freien Lauf" (208). Karl excitedly requests the chaplain to tell them a fairy tale since only in this form of narrative does the imagination have complete freedom of movement and structure; even in fantastic anecdotes it is still bound to a certain extent to reality, and it usually comes into conflict even then with reason and common sense. The chaplain promises to recite a *Märchen* that evening, and with this the framework comes to an end.

In conclusion we may now attempt to place Goethe's *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* in its historical context. Walter Silz writes: "Thus, both in the types of narrative included and in the theoretical views expressed, Goethe's collection is a recapitulation of the past rather than a prophecy of the future of the German Novelle."³⁰ On the whole our findings agree with this generalization, and yet a few important reservations must be stressed. With regard to form Goethe accepted the Romance standard almost completely, and this fact is illustrated vividly by his use of French sources for five of his six tales. His work represents an advance, however, in that he departed from the purely anecdotal nature of the Romance originals with their emphasis upon the witty *pointe* and a clean, hard line of action; instead, he infused into his tales, if not always convincingly, a certain moral substance and stressed character as well as plot. With respect to theory it might be said that the baroness' standards of form belong to tradition; but the criteria of the chaplain, with an eye for character and substance, surely form a bridge from the Romance novella to the German character-Novelle of a Kleist. Finally, Goethe's work marks a distinct departure from traditional framework cycles by virtue of its conscious interaction of the framework and its stories. Without Goethe's *Unterhaltungen* it would be difficult to imagine the subsequent masterpieces created in this genre by writers like Gottfried Keller and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer.

³⁰ *Realism and Reality: Studies in the German Novelle of Poetic Realism* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1954), p. 2.

HEINRICH MANN'S "DIE BRANZILLA"

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Among the works produced by Heinrich Mann during the first decade of this century there are two novellen dealing specifically with the problem of the decadent artist, namely "Pippo Spano" and "Die Branzilla." The former, published in 1905, has often been studied, quoted, and praised;¹ the latter, written in 1906 but not printed until 1908, has been ignored by all but Mann's staunchest admirers. It is in many respects the more interesting and original of the two, and deserves to be rescued from the semi-oblivion into which it has fallen. To demonstrate its merits through analysis of content and form is the purpose of this paper.

"Die Branzilla" and "Pippo Spano" share the basic idea expressed by the protagonist of the earlier tale: "Nur sie [die Kunst], der Krieg und die Macht sind widernatürliche Ausschweifungen, die einen Menschen ganz wollen. Aber die Kunst ist von den dreien die verderblichste, sie enthält die beiden anderen."² In both novellen art ruins the life of the artist. But this is where the similarity ends, and one should not be tempted even to imply, as does Kantorowicz (*A. W.*, IX, 385 f.), that the two works are mere variations on the same theme. Rather, they are complementary. "Die Branzilla" develops, and partly answers, the questions raised in "Pippo Spano."

The hero of "Pippo Spano" is a playwright named Mario Malvolto, whose ideal is "das indifferent Große und ruchlos Schöne"³ personified in a condottiere of the Quattrocento. This ideal can be no more than an artificial stimulant to the weak artist who espouses it. His passion to live in the manner of Nietzschean "predatory beasts and men" is doomed to failure. The young Countess Gemma Cantoggi falls in love with him. When their clandestine affair is discovered and separation appears inevitable, the lovers decide to die together. Malvolto kills Gemma, but then lacks the courage to kill himself. A glorious plan worthy of a Renaissance *Herrenmensch* comes to an inglorious end, leaving behind a bewildered criminal. The affected worship of a beguiling notion has been carried to the absurd.

"Pippo Spano" has rightly been called Heinrich Mann's "Bekenntnis-

¹ Kasimir Edschmid has called it "eine der besten deutschen Novellen." (Cited in an undated pamphlet advertising the Heinrich Mann edition used here, p. 15). Other laudatory comments are those by Richard von Schaukal, *Das Literarische Echo*, VII (1905-1906), 369; and Friedrich Maerker, *Zur Literatur der Gegenwart* (München, 1921), p. 14, and pp. 31-39. See also Footnote 4.

² Heinrich Mann, *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1950 ff.), VIII, 314. Hereafter this edition will be cited as *A. W.*

³ Walter Rehm, "Der Renaissancekult um 1900 und seine Überwindung," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LIV (1929), 305.

novelle,"* if the term is understood to contain its own limitations. As is true of Goethe and Werther, the identification of the author with his main character goes only up to a certain point. With Malvolto, Mann explored the possibilities of amoral individualism to the fullest; with Malvolto he found at the end that the path traveled led nowhere. However, abandoning the fictional character at an impasse could not possibly mean a declaration of intellectual and emotional bankruptcy on the part of his inventor. Heinrich Mann, active artist that he was, had to retrace his steps, discover a positive approach to art and life, and, above all, sever himself from Nietzsche. The document of this liberation is "Die Branzilla".

In this novelle the central character is Branzilla, a singer and — quite contrary to Nietzsche's tenets — a woman. Her obsession with art is far greater than that of Malvolto; on the other hand, she is not an esthete like him. Her "will to power" finds expression in the desire to subjugate her audiences through her voice. Time and again she demonstrates the striking similarity between artistic suzerainty and political despotism. A fanatically ascetic existence devoted exclusively to *bel canto* estranges her from society. Yet she longs for affection and would like to be part of the community of men. Kantorowicz (*A. W.*, IX, 386) compares her with Tonio Kröger and parallels her desire for love with the latter's yearning for the "Wonnen der Gewöhnlichkeit." But in contrast to Tonio and Malvolto she meets "life" not in the person of a "blonde Inge" or a young countess without creative inclinations, but in the figure of the tenor Ulisse Cavazzaro. Cavazzaro is described as a first-rate singer. In him art and life are not at odds, and even eventual blindness and a premature loss of his voice fail to disturb the inner harmony that is his. According to Nietzsche, men like Cavazzaro ceased to exist several centuries ago. Mann makes him live in Nietzsche's own days and presents him as the alternative to Branzilla, whom he condemns without the modicum of equivocation granted to Malvolto.

The figures of the woman artist and of the tenor who, in Mann's words, "has life, and art in addition to it," should assure "Die Branzilla" a place in the history of civilization. But only an investigation of Mann's writing technique will determine whether it also belongs in the history of literature.

"Die Branzilla" consists of a series of scenes from the life of the heroine grouped into seven brief chapters as follows:

*H. W. Rosenhaupt, *Der deutsche Dichter um die Jahrhundertwende und seine Abgelöstheit von der Gesellschaft*, Sprache und Forschung No. 66 (Bern-Leipzig: Paul Haupt, 1939), p. 167. Fritz Strich even goes so far as to see Mann's self-portrait in Malvolto and adds, "und wenn alle moderne Dichtung sonst einmal verloren ginge, könnte man aus dieser einen Novelle das Bild des Dichters in dieser Zeit rekonstruieren," *Dichtung und Zivilisation* (München, 1928), p. 206. Walter Schröder, on the other hand, regards "Pippo Spano" as "Mahnruf und Absage" rather than as "Bekenntnis." *Heinrich Mann — Bildnis eines Meisters* (Wien, 1931), pp. 84 f.

I. Young Adelaide Branzilla sings before a princess and her entourage, gains general admiration, and wins the love of Dario Rupa. This wealthy nobleman invites her to live and study at his palace. Branzilla accepts. For five years she works intensively in preparation for her debut at the Teatro Argentino in Rome. All amorous overtures of her sponsor are rejected with disdainful coldness, since love and security are no substitute for fame to her. She works constantly with an almost pathological singularity of purpose.

II. On the day of the long awaited debut a revolution breaks out, but is quickly quelled. Acquaintances secretly having used his estate as an arsenal, Rupa is accused of conspiracy. The police refuse to believe the assertion of the real conspirators that he is innocent. Branzilla is about to be arrested as an accessory when the captain of the Sbirros offers her freedom if she swears to Rupa's guilt. Branzilla recognizes the magnitude of the decision she has to make, but with the help of the devilish captain she chooses perjury, and Rupa is taken away. She sings. Rupa's followers are outraged; they attempt to ruin her performance and even threaten her life. But she rises to the occasion. Singing with the voice of an angel she conquers the crowd and turns hatred into adoration.

III. Branzilla is now a reputable professional opera singer. Only La Amati stands between her and the pinnacle of success. And so she poisons Amati, the darling of the public, in the presence of another singer named Sturbanotte. Sturbanotte is a hunchback whose excellent singing more than compensates for his deformity. He should, so Branzilla believes, understand her quest for perfection. Amati was imperfect, offering to the people charm instead of great singing and beauty in lieu of hard work. That is why she had to die. However, Sturbanotte's infirmity has in no way diminished his reverence for life, and he recoils before so much inhuman ambition. Unfortunately, he cannot charge Branzilla with murder publicly, for she has considered this possibility and prepared a plausible tale which would make him, rather than her, look like the criminal.

IV. Passing through a small town while on tour Branzilla follows a whim and sings with the local opera ensemble. Here she discovers Ulisse Cavazzaro who, though poorly trained, is a great artist. For a moment the great loneliness she has borne all her life becomes oppressive. The two fall in love and get married. Professionally and personally this is the high point in Branzilla's life.

V. Quarrels reveal irreconcilable differences between the couple. Without detriment to his art, Cavazzaro drinks and makes love to many women, while Branzilla studies her roles constantly, and fasts and prays before each performance. That such a man as Ulisse exists is disturbing to her. Must one not sacrifice — himself and others — to serve art? She decides to kill him, but finds that she cannot treat him like Amati, since

he is really an artist and her equal. She will have to bear the cross of love-hate forever.

VI. Branzilla wants permission from the Church to sing *Aida* before the King who has ousted the Pope. Being denied her priest's consent, she informs him that she will sing nevertheless, although as a good Catholic she believes that her betrayal of the Holy Father will condemn her to hell. But even in hell she will sing, for that is her destiny.

VII. The couple is old now. Only after weeks of preparation does Branzilla muster the strength necessary to perform on the stage. But she musters it, whereas her husband is blind and can no longer sing. As an artist she has triumphed over him; but as an artist only, since everyone loves kind Ulisse. She, on the other hand, is generally despised because of her ever growing miserliness and quarrelsomeness. Begrudging him even his memories, Branzilla heaps vilifications and insults on her husband until he finally hangs himself. Their daughter, whom she has made unhappy by coercing her into an operatic career, threatens to have the old woman committed to an asylum, but Branzilla pays no attention. The story ends with her dreaming of her next appearance as Gioconda in the Palazzo Doria.

Mann did not furnish chapter headings in this work as he did in "Pippo Spano." If he had, they might well have sounded like the sacraments with a negative sign. There are the baptism of an artist, the confirmation of evil through accession to temptation, the sacrifice of another rather than one's self, matrimony that is cursed, an ineffective penance through doubts and torture, total rejection of the Church after a long novitiate in Satan's orders, and finally, extreme madness. The scenes in which Branzilla's life is depicted could hardly have been chosen more judiciously. Everything important appears to have been recorded in chronological sequence, and the very importance of each episode makes it a "fruitful moment," that is to say, a scene which urges the imagination of the reader to fill in details of the past and to anticipate the next step of the heroine.

In spite of a felicitous selection of episodes, Branzilla's life would lack substance if it were not embedded in a historical context. The opening scene, vaguely reminiscent of Bibi's meeting with the old princess in Thomas Mann's "Das Wunderkind," describes men carrying lorgnettes and wearing black silk clothes. One is transported into the past. Gradually the century is identified. One witnesses the Revolution of 1848, the struggle for Italy's unification, and finally the opening of the gates of Rome to Victor Emanuel in the year that saw the premiere of *Aida*. But all events are viewed through Branzilla's eyes; the turmoils of the era parallel, and have a bearing on, her struggle. And so historical time not only functions as background but is an integral part of the tale.

It is interesting to note that Branzilla herself has little awareness

of time. She remembers 'forty-seven as "her year." "Das ist mein Jahr!"⁵ she exclaims to Cavazzaro. But this is the only incident showing her conscious of the calendar. Prince Rupa in his unhappy love for her knows that she practiced for five years in his house; she is oblivious of the lapse of that span. The opera troupe thanks her for her appearance which will give them security for a week. A week means nothing to her. She ages with the century but denies it in word and act. "Wer sagt, daß wir alt sind! Du, ja du bist's! . . . Ich bin noch immer die Branzilla." So begins the seventh chapter. The absence of a sense of time and her unwillingness to accept its passing Mann uses to good advantage in characterizing his heroine. The refusal to acknowledge her age is tantamount to a refusal to face herself. But the author shows us how, as in Dorian Gray's picture, her deeds have inscribed themselves in her face in the course of the years. As a young, ambitious, but innocent girl Branzilla meets the world, "ihr klares Vogelprofil gegen den Haufen gerichtet." But old Branzilla stares after her blind husband "knochig aufgereckt aus Geieraugen." A kleig light is thrown on the horrors of egomania, while the maniac flees into herself.

The transformation of the bird profile into the physiognomy of a vulture is of course felt to be gradual. Throughout the tale Mann furnished traits and gestures which justify the bold terms in which the metamorphosis is stated. Young Branzilla possesses a "harten und traurigen Blick." Rupa's invitation is received "mit kalter Unterwürfigkeit" accompanied by "kleine harte Fächerschläge." As she denies herself all pleasure, Branzilla naturally eats most frugally: "Ein rohes Ei, einen Fenchel, und es ist genug. Keinen Wein." Moreover, she expects others to discipline themselves just as she does. About her seamstress she says, "Sie hätte ein Kleid machen sollen. Ein vollkommen gemachtes Kleid würde ihr dummes kleines Dasein gerechtfertigt haben. Was tut sie? Sie ißt, trinkt, liebelt, sie zerstreut sich, bis sie ganz verschwindet. So machen es alle." And so it is no wonder that men do not visit her dressing room, her "ungefällige Miene" perhaps causing her loneliness more than her "eckige Glieder." But much worse than her obsession with excellence in herself and others, and much more repelling than her forbidding looks is her inhuman glee in triumph over her victims. After Amati's murder Branzilla proves to Sturbanotte that she fears no one: "Ich fürchte niemand, Signor Sturbanotte. Seht, wie ich ihre Augen auf- und zuklappe. Mit diesen Wimpern wird sie keine Liebe herbei-winken." Her dreams of glory likewise reveal her monstrous mind. "Er [Gott] ließ mich träumen," she confesses to her crippled friend, "und zeigte mir die Amati in der Hölle und in der Pein. Sie hatte keine Nase mehr, und die Teufel zwickten ihr die Brustwarzen ab. Aber hoch darüber, gleich unter Gottes Thron, auf Wolken stand ich selbst und sang!"

⁵ All quotations not otherwise identified are from "Die Branzilla," *A. W.*, VIII, 339-376.

From here to the *Geieraugen*, so it seems, is but a small step.

Mann in no way assuages his stark portrayal of Branzilla. He offers no explanation for her being as she is. In particular, he says nothing about her family and childhood. All that is divulged about her background is that she is poor, and that she lives with an aunt who also functions as servant and duenna. This does not mean that the author does not care about the origins of his protagonist. Rather, it seems to signify that he insists on not considering them. Branzilla does not stand "zwischen den Rassen," as do Tonio Kröger and Mario Malvolto; she has no bourgeois heritage like Leonie in "Schauspielerin";⁶ she is no freak, and if she were, adequate adjustment like that of Sturbanotte would still be possible; and she has no wrong to avenge, as another Heinrich Mann character bent on self-destruction has, namely Don Rocco Ascani in "Auferstehung." In short, psychology and sociology are not drawn upon to explain Branzilla's character. A determined woman, she is the cause of many effects without being herself the product of particular causes. Through the technique of omission, then, Branzilla becomes burdened with the terrible responsibility for her own sufferings and those of others.

Branzilla suffers. Not the girl who fights her way to the top by disobeying the Sixth and the Ninth Commandments, but the mature singer who feels the dubiousness of her success. It is especially through Cavazzaro that she realizes art to be a vampire draining her strength. Making art out of her emotions undermines her health, while he, the Sybarite, grows as a performer: "Ich muß ansehen, daß er das Leben hat und die Kunst obendrein — der ich mich opfere; daß er spielt, wo ich mich zerquäle, und dennoch groß wird." The struggle against her physical frailty distorts her view on art to the point where she ceases to be a *Künstler* and becomes an *Artist*. Separating the emptiness of her life from the richness of art, she says, "Es ist nichts; es ist nur der Körper. Er ist krank, er sträubt sich. Ich habe ihn noch immer besiegt. Ruhe! Ich bin eine Schülerin und habe singen zu lernen. *Denn der Geist erwächst aus der Technik*" (italics added). But this solace, in turn, leads to uneasiness, for she has to consider the possibility that Cavazzaro is greater than she. She cannot murder him, "den Freund des Vollkommenen, den Gott vielleicht höher weihte als mich." And even after Cavazzaro's short but happy career as a tenor is over, doubts and envy persist, finding expression in the peremptory "Ich will nicht, daß du Erinnerungen habest!" and the tantalizing insinuation that perhaps he never was a true artist. The sufferings are real enough, and it is no melodramatic outburst when Branzilla says to her husband, "Du hattest am Ende nur Wert, weil du zu meiner Qual beitragen solltest: zu meinem Schicksal."

⁶ "Schauspielerin" — really a sort of open letter to Mann's sister Carla intended to bolster her morale — is not a *Künstlernovelle* but the tale of a bourgeoisie lost in the world of the theater.

But her torture is that of a person blinded to the obvious truth.

For the suffering, the conflicts, and the entire abnormality of Branzilla's existence Mann effectively uses the symbol of darkness. "Die Branzilla" is an "indoor story" in which nature has no place at all. Pathetic fallacy, abundant in "Pippo Spano" is replaced by light and shade. When Branzilla is faced with the decision either to be honest about Rupa's innocence and forego her debut, or falsely implicate him and sing, her struggle is depicted in the following words:

"Er ist nicht mein Liebhaber. Er wollte mich singen hören. Liebe er mich? Ich liebe ihn nicht. Was geht er mich an?" Sie sprach hinter sich, als habe sie jemand zu beschwichtigen, der dort im Dunkeln versteckt läge: vielleicht ihre Tante Barbara, vielleicht etwas anderes, Namenloses. "Er hat mich aus dem Elend gezogen, sagst du? Andere hatten mich singen gehört und mich dennoch darin gelassen? — Aber, habe ich ihn darum gebeten? Versprach ich ihm Dank?"

.....

Sooft von hinten eine neue Frage kam, schnellte sie herum nach dem Hauptmann, und in seinen Augen, die sie mitten im Schatten deutlich erkannte, war schon die Antwort entschieden. Seine Klugheit gab ihr Grauen und Trost. "Und endlich verlangt er selbst nichts Besseres. Wie könnte ich ihn glücklicher machen, als wenn ich ihn sterben heiße! . . . Herr Hauptmann, ich will gestehen."

In this passage darkness is a manifestation of inner turmoil, but also the place where conscience dwells. Elsewhere it is a refuge where Branzilla can muster her resources to fight the antagonism of the populace. When Rupa's friends ruin the first act of her debut, she stands, "die Stirn gegen eine dunkle Kulisse." In the next act she vanquishes their hatred. At times darkness envelops a specific somber thought. "Grabdunkel" prevails when Branzilla contemplates murdering her husband. But always darkness symbolizes the state of Branzilla's soul when she is not behind the footlights, the splendor of which elates her as a drug does the addict. In darkness she builds her "Palast aus Tönen."

The footlights, the stage, "das hell wogende Festhaus" are the reward for the life in the black. Thinking about them makes all tortures endurable. Yet they are artifices: *Lichter*, not *Licht*. Only once does true light come to Branzilla. Cavazzaro, after declaring his love for her, is witness to two violent emotions raging within the breast of his beloved; supreme egotism fights, and briefly succumbs to the desire not to be alone: "Er sah hell und sicher darein, wie sie, böse und von Angst gebändigt, sich abarbeitete. Auf einmal breitete er, staunend ergriffen, die Arme aus. Denn ein Glanz aus Tiefen besiegte in ihrem Gesicht alle Härte, alle Qual, und verwandelte sie. Die Branzilla ward schön. Den ganzen Himmel in ihrer Stimme, sagte sie: 'Ich liebe dich!'" Inner radiance lends beauty which man-made illumination cannot produce.

Ironically, this one moment of naturalness, never recaptured, links Branzilla to the man whose every breath is a vehement criticism of her endeavors.

Branzilla's "Ich liebe dich" constitutes the turning point of the novelle. With it she reaches the summit of her existence; after it comes her decline. Cavazzaro appears as an unexpected element which, however, causes no deviation from the path prescribed to her by her character. He proves that art need not be nor make one despotic. He unmasks Branzilla's earlier self-justifications as rationalizations so that after her marriage she speaks with a new frankness about her deeds. To her priest she says, "Wißt Ihr, von welcher Sünde Ihr mich freisprechen sollt? Von derselben, die Sankt Petrus an unserm Herrn beging. An seinem Vertreter auf Erden begehe nun ich sie; ja, ich will unsern Herrn Papst verraten! Ich will vor seinem Henker, dem König die Aïda singen." Even remorse gnaws occasionally on her. "Ich denke jetzt manchmal des Fürsten Dario Rupa," she confides to her daughter, "eines jungen Mannes, der, als ich selbst ganz jung war, für mich starb. Richtiger wär's vielleicht, zu sagen, daß ich ihn tötete. Soll ich dir etwas Schreckliches gestehen? Ich wünsche mir jetzt oft, ich hätte ihn damals nicht dem Hauptmann verraten, ich wäre mit ihm in den Kerker gegangen." But while Cavazzaro can force his wife to be honest with herself, he cannot free her from her drives. Awareness contributes only to her misery without leading to liberation.

From the aspects of "Die Branzilla" discussed thus far it may have been gathered that the story is written with great economy. The multiple functions of time, the omission of background, and the absence of any reference to nature account in a large measure for its amazing brevity. Mann needs only thirty-seven pages, or less than eleven thousand words, to bring to life a full half century of an artist's struggles, mistakes, and sorrows. But there are two further techniques that conspire in favor of great concentration while at the same time lifting the novelle above sketch and reportage. They are Mann's choice of very precise language and his uncommonly adroit use of the monologue.

By precise language is meant what Arthur Kutscher⁷ calls, "Fülle in der Knappheit, Notwendigkeit, Bezüglichkeit des Ganzen bei aller Ausprägung des Einzelnen." In "Die Branzilla" precision manifests itself in nearly every sentence. On the first page of the story, for instance, the difference between Branzilla and a young woman without artistic gifts is expressed as follows: Branzilla's pale fingertips hold on to a wide skirt, "der sich rings um sie am Estrich zerdrückte." The most desirable girl of Rome, on the other hand, a member of her audience, exuberantly embraces the singer, and "die gestickten Kränze ihres Saumes schaukelten über ihren kleinen Schuhen." Indirection combines with exactness. Not only do the skirts indicate the unbridgeable chasm between the two;

⁷ *Stilkunde der deutschen Dichtung*, 2 vols. (Bremen-Horn, 1951-1952), I, 260.

Branzilla's skirt being crushed by the floor is also an omen of her eventual fate. The prefix "zer" is the important element here and makes one feel that more than a stubborn will, that a compulsive aggression is pitted against an unyielding world. Another fine example is furnished by Rupa. Prince Rupa sees clearly the contrast between his own disorderly passion and Branzilla's "nüchterne Begeisterung," and no more befitting oxymoron than this phrase is imaginable.

As for the monologues, the long quotation concerning Branzilla's first act of treachery will be remembered, and so will the strategically placed pauses, the interjected questions, and the use of the subjunctive. These are the elements which control the pace and the timbre of Branzilla's speeches. Two additional examples will show how Mann furthers his plot through such monologues and at the same time develops his characters. The first of these is taken from the beginning of the second chapter.

" . . . Waskehrst du allein zurück, läufst und schreist? Und nun schießt man gar im Hause, daß es hallt? Und Schritte, die durcheinanderrennen, und wilde Stimmen. Sage ihnen, daß ich singen will . . . Geh doch! — daß ich singen will! . . .

Wie? Sie machen Revolution? Sie verjagen den Heiligen Vater? Aber das ist unmöglich! Sage doch, daß es nicht wahr ist! Du hast Angst, und du liebst den Klatsch, du Alte. Sie schießen: Was wird's sein? Irgendein Mord.

Gleichviel: mögen sie schießen, drüben beim Theater werden sie's nicht wagen. Dort werden die Soldaten des Heiligen Vaters dafür sorgen, daß ich singen kann . . . Zwar, heute früh sind mir zwei Pfeile aus den Haaren gefallen und als Kreuz am Boden gelegen . . . Und du? Du bist einer Buckligen begegnet und hast nicht ausgespien? Weil du den Mund voll Süßem hattest? Und heute abend soll ich singen! Möge jene Bucklige dir die ganze Hölle schicken! Dir: nicht mir! Ich muß singen!"

Confusion, conceit, impatience, peremptoriness, incredulity, anger, disgust, bravado, superstitiousness, and fiercest determination are all present in this speech. Added to the belief in bad omens is the scorn of the ascetic for the aunt's sweet tooth. The events are told in terms of Branzilla's reaction to them; but it is always clear what is event and what is reaction, what is past and what is present, what is whispered and what shouted. The logic of association is fully transparent. Every aspect of language is exploited: punctuation has the greatest importance for the understanding of the passage; sibilants set the tone. Simple statements and questions dominate, the only subordinate conjunction being "daß"; and the frequent repetition of the word "singen" leaves no doubt about Branzilla's one and only concern.

This type of monologue constitutes about one third of the entire

novelle. Its theme is always defiance, but there is nothing tedious about its return, since it is never heard twice in the same configuration. The reason for this appears to be that Mann borrows the key and the rhythm of his variations from both the situation and the person or persons to whom Branzilla addresses her words. When, after Amati's death, she challenges Sturbanotte to prove her the murderess, the evil pleasure of triumphant cleverness colors her lines. In her request to the priest to sanction her singing before the king the frightened humility of the child of the Church is mingled with the compulsions that are beyond reason and that finally prevail. In the talk with the members of the small town opera troupe her reluctance to acknowledge the phenomenon of Cavazzaro tints every word. But this speech is sufficiently different from the earlier quotations to be used here as a further example.

The last opera lover has left the dingy hall in an unnamed town, as the fourth chapter opens. Branzilla sits among the poor singers whom she has honored with her presence. They bow before her and listen to her random remarks about the miserable makeshift equipment that produced the illusion of glamor on the stage, about poverty, about youth and ambition. Suddenly she notices the absence of the tenor.

Euer Tenor — wie nennt ihr ihn? ist nicht übel. Ich möchte sagen, daß er etwas taugt. Ich kann sogar zugeben, daß er große Mittel hat, Was wollt ihr noch mehr von mir? Soll ich gestehen, ich erkannte ihn an? Schließlich hat er wenig Übung: und wer weiß von ihm, wo gilt er? Gleichviel: ich habe ihn gehört und werde ihn nicht verleugnen. Sagt, wo steckt er? Er ist der einzige von euch, der davonläuft, wenn euch die Branzilla beeht. Übrigens hat er auch vom Beifall vorhin zu viel für sich genommen . . . Nun, sagt ihm, daß ich ihm Glück wünsche, und lebt wohl.

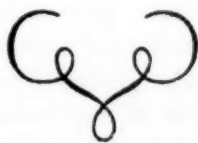
One follows with keenest interest the tug of war between Branzilla's admiration and resentment. "Euer Tenor — wie nennt ihr ihn? — ist nicht übel." She is lying; she probably remembers his name, and he certainly is better than merely not bad. "Ich möchte sagen, daß er etwas taugt." An understatement that is supposed to sound nonchalant betrays her. She feels this and goes on, "Ich kann sogar zugeben, daß er große Mittel hat." She cannot deny, and dares not admit Cavazzaro's qualities. Only in desperation could she have recourse to the glib phrase from the vocabulary of the professional critic; "große Mittel," indeed. The ridiculousness of her words is quickly realized and leads to the breakthrough: "Was wollt ihr noch mehr von mir? Soll ich gestehen, ich erkannte ihn an?" Saying this, she has publicly acknowledged him, and can now speak of him as her equal and the great artist which he is.

The monologues, varying in pace and blending with repartee and description, never appear contrived. To them as much as to the entire story apply Bertaux' words about Mann's novellistic style. "Heinrich Mann has evolved a style which has the thrust of dramatic writing but

is at the same time not too thin; loaded when circumstances demand it, and yet direct and spare when expressing the rhythm of a bare, hard existence."⁸ To this general statement should be added that the terseness of the monologues contributes considerably to the intensification, and therewith elevation, of the realism in which the novelle is anchored.

Concluding the analysis of "Die Branzilla," one may say that it approaches the amalgamation of content and form one is accustomed to find in good poetry. The vehement reaction of its author to some aspects of the *Zeitgeist* engendered by Nietzsche is expressed in an appropriate manner that is not—in Mann's case it seems right to say, not yet—mannerism. Excellent organization overcomes the difficulties of density. The heightened realism of the language is supported and made acceptable by the political upheavals depicted, and the known quantity of Branzilla's prima-donnadom. A wealth of material is brought under the control of words which possess the full richness of their meaning. The story is vibrant and of a piece. It is a novelle determined to live.

⁸ *A Panorama of German Literature 1871-1931* (New York, 1935), p. 135. It may be of interest that Heinrich Mann regarded Bertaux as his best critic.



REDE ZU HERMANN WEIGANDS 65. GEBURTSTAG¹

CURT VON FABER DU FAUR
Yale University

Lieber Hermann,

Vor Tatsachen kann man die Augen nicht verschließen, sie machen sich nach einiger Zeit doch bemerklich. Und es ist dann besser, ihnen offen in die Augen zu sehen, und am allerbesten, ein Fest daraus zu machen, und das wollen wir jetzt tun. Daß du dein 65. Jahr vollendet hast, ist nicht nur deine Angelegenheit, sondern die der amerikanischen Germanistik, denn ohne deine Initiative wäre sie nicht, was sie geworden ist.

Vor allem hast du dir eines bewahrt – und wir zehren alle davon – und das ist deine Besonderheit, deine Originalität, wenn man will, die dich verhindert hat, je ein Dutzendmensch und wohlbestallter Professor zu werden – „wohlbestallt“ ist hier in bildlichem Sinne gemeint, bei einem Gelehrten ist es schon viel, wenn er überhaupt „bestallt“ ist, aber ein „bestallter Gelehrter“ ist wieder so ein zweideutiger Ausdruck, daß man ihm das „wohl“ auf alle Fälle lassen muß, was bei dir eher als bei manchen anderen ja auch geschehen kann.

Du hast ein besonderes Land bewohnt, die letzten fünfundvierzig Jahre deines Lebens: das Land der Literatur, der deutschen Literatur vor allem, aber in deiner Lektüre bist du immer über ihre Grenzen hinausgegangen, in das Griechische und Lateinische, in das Spanische und Italienische, und natürlich warst du oft genug im Literaturland deiner Geburt, dem Englisch-Amerikanischen. Und wie Hermann Hesses *Morgenlandfahrer* hast du deine Reisen oft nicht nur im Raum, sondern auch in der Zeit gemacht, in das Mittelalter vor allem, und deine Bekanntschaft mit dem unendlichen Reichtum des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts ist eine intime geworden: du fühlst dich darin zu Hause wie nur ein Morgenlandfahrer sein kann. Du bist keiner jener Flüchtigreisenden, die bloß die großen Massen der Gebirgswände, die stolze Höhe der Gipfel und die allgemeine Richtung der Ströme kennen. Du weißt um die geheimen Rieseleyen und die tiefen Stollen, aus denen sie fließen. Du kennst das Land und sprichst die Sprache seiner Bewohner, du hast über ihre Seltsamkeiten nachgedacht, über ihre Einzigkeiten, du weißt von dem, was sie selber vergessen haben, und von den Gebieten, die sie nur scheu betraten und nicht zu durchforschen wagten.

Aber ein echter Morgenlandfahrer reist nicht nur in die Vergangenheit, er geht gelegentlich auch in die Zukunft und läßt sich da nicht vom bunten Wirrwarr der Ereignisse vernebeln. Er wird voller Verständnis zum Kastalier und Glasperlenspieler, denn ihm, wie Joseph Knecht, ist es ja möglich, in andere Lebensformen einzudringen – und

¹ Gehalten am 17. November 1957.

ihnen doch das zu lassen, was sie waren: Individualitäten, Originalitäten, unter demselben Stern geborene.

Dein geistiger Kampf mit Schiller, wenn der Große in raschem Impuls seine bedeutungsvollen und ungeklärten Gedankenmassen niedergeschrieben hatte, erforderte viel eigene Gedankenklarheit. Deine Freude an den Paradoxien der frühen Gedichte, die du so plastisch sahst, wie zum Beispiel in der „Freundschaft,“ den Ringeltanz „vom Mongolen zu dem griechischen Seher, der sich an den letzten Cherub reiht.“ Du brauchtest das nur zu sprechen und zuzufügen „den miesesten Cherub,“ und die ganze Ringelkette wand sich in unabsehbarem Sonnenstäubchentanz vor den inneren Augen.

Dann sah ich dich am „Quell der Donau“ sitzen und dem weiten Hall und Widerhall von West nach Ost lauschen, und auch horchen auf das Toben des jungen Rhein in seinen Fesseln. Überall wo starke Bewegung, mächtiger Angriff war, fühltest du dich besonders angezogen, und so war es kein Wunder, daß Heinrich von Kleist zu deinen erklärten Lieblingen gehörte. Da war alles, was dir gemäß war, nicht nur die Betonung, die das Vertrauen in seinen Werken erfuhr, nein auch, und wohl besonders, die Mischung von wildem Mut und ausklügelnder Berechnung, an welcher letzteren du eine wahre Mathematikerfreude bewiesest. Denn wenn das Draufgängerische und Kämpferische eine Seite deines Wesens waren, so waren die andere Geduld, Akribie, Genauigkeit und Hingabe, und so ist dir der wunderbare Nachweis von Gerhart Hauptmanns sprachlichen Quellen in seinem *Florian Geyer* gelungen, ein Beitrag zur Offenbarung des Wesens der dichterischen Phantasie.

Der Münchner Literaturhistoriker Karl Georg von Maaßen, der E. T. A. Hoffmann seine Lebensarbeit gewidmet hat, wies einmal nach, daß dieser größte Phantast und Künstler der Erfindung fast nichts selbst erfunden hat, sondern für alles fremde Vorlagen benützt hat. Jahrelang suchte Maaßen zu finden, wo in Hoffmanns Gemüsemärchen der Name des Barons Ockerodastes genannt Corduanspitz hergekommen sei, bis er im Katalog einer ostpreußischen Handelsfirma von 1810 die Sorten fand. Es gab also eine Rübenart Ockerodastes und eine Abart Corduanspitz in der Wirklichkeit! Vielleicht sind es ursprünglich diese Namen gewesen, die Hoffmanns Phantasie in die befruchtende Richtung gedrängt haben.

In den letzten Jahren hat deine Liebe vor allem Rilke gehört, und es war mir eine besondere Freude, daß gerade in diesem Jahr die kostbare Rilke-Sammlung Oppenheimer der Yale University geschenkt wurde. Sie zeichnet Band für Band die äußere Entwicklung Rilkes nach: von den überbescheidenen Anfängen, Bändchen von ärmlichen Verlagen oder auf Kosten des Autors hergestellt, zu den erlesensten Prachtausgaben auf Pergament gedruckt und mit goldenen Initialen geziert wie

ein mittelalterlicher Codex; von den ersten Versuchen von Übersetzungen in der *Nouvelle Revue Française* bis zu der Ausgabe der *Fenêtres* in erlesenster Maroquinbindung, alles was Universitätsbibliotheken unerreichbar bleibt, weil ihre Budgets nur zu Studienbüchern verwendet werden dürfen. Was alles aber zum Fluidum, zum Dunstkreis des Dichters doch gehört und zur vollen Rundung seines Bildes beiträgt, steht dem forschenden Auge bereit.

Daneben waren dir zwei Prosaker der letzten Jahrzehnte wichtig: Thomas Mann und Hermann Broch. Die Hochschätzung des Ersteren hast du genossen, wie seine Briefe zeigen, mit dem letzteren verband dich intime persönliche Freundschaft. Was Thomas Mann sichtlich am meisten beeindruckt hatte, war die wissenschaftliche Methode, das klare Vorgehen, mit dem du seinen *Zauberberg* analysiert hast. Überall hast du die Nerven und Sehnen bloßgelegt, mit Röntgenstrahlen-Augen und ohne eine Leiche aus dem lebendigen Körper zu machen, wie es sonst den Handhabern so scharfer Skalpelle leicht ergeht. Und du warst einer der ersten, die den Wert und die Besonderheit von Hermann Brochs *Tod des Vergil* erkannten. Heute scheint es absonderlich, daß die *Publications of the Modern Language Association* Bedenken hatten, einen Aufsatz über einen so unbekannten Autor anzunehmen.

Aristoteles hat, wie Schopenhauer in seinen *Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit* feststellt, die Güter des menschlichen Lebens in drei Klassen geteilt: die äußeren, die der Seele und die des Leibes. Schopenhauer verwirft diese Einteilung und behält nur ihre Dreizahl bei. Der Unterschied im Lose der Sterblichen begründet sich auf drei „Grundbestimmungen.“ Sie sind: 1) Was einer ist: also die Persönlichkeit im weitesten Sinne, 2) Was einer hat: also Eigentum und Besitz in jeglichem Sinne, 3) Was einer vorstellt: nämlich was er in der Vorstellung anderer ist, also eigentlich wie er von ihnen vorgestellt wird. Sie besteht demnach in ihrer Meinung von ihm und zerfällt in Ehre, Rang und Ruhm.

Es zeigt sich, wenn man Schopenhauers Text liest, daß es sich um eine absteigende Reihe handelt. Das erste und wichtigste erscheint das, was einer ist. Weniger wichtig schon, was einer hat. Und im Grunde ein konventioneller, ja ein „simulierter“ Wert ist das, was einer vorstellt. Aber der Philosoph hat dieser dritten „Grundbestimmung“ doch das längste Kapitel gewidmet und so sich nicht wenig Gedanken darüber gemacht.

Natürlich sind Titel, Rang und Amt uns weniger wichtig als zu Schopenhauers Zeit, wo es noch sehr viel bedeutete, ob jemand „Geheimer Hofrat“ oder „Wirklicher Geheimer Hofrat“ oder „Seine Exzellenz der Wirkliche Geheime Hofrat“ war, wobei es nicht darauf ankam, ob der Hof ihn je um einen wirklichen geheimen Rat gefragt hatte oder um einen Rat überhaupt. Orden, die eine so große Rolle spielten, waren nach Schopenhauer „Wechselbriefe gezogen auf die öf-

fentliche Meinung.“ Amerika hat mit diesem ganzen Titelwesen Schluß gemacht, und so sind wir alle arm daran. Aber selbst an diesen äußeren Ehren bist du kein Bettler. Früh hat dich eine der führenden und, was dein Fach betrifft, seit Jahren die erste Universität des Landes, zum Professor gemacht und dir den auszeichnenden Titel eines Sterling Professors später verliehen.

Was einer hat, war Schopenhauers mittlere „Grundbestimmung.“ Nun, die Publikationsliste von 72 Nummern, die sich hat zusammenstellen lassen, ist ein stolzer Besitz, um den dich manche beneiden können. Sie repräsentiert eine Leistung, die Wert und Gewicht hat und die keine der heutigen Zerstörungsmittel dir nehmen kann. Aller Besitz ist unsicher und problematisch geworden, schon seit einigen Jahrzehnten. Das gedruckte Wort hat sich als dauerhafter erwiesen, als ersparte Valuten.

Am wichtigsten aber ist die erste Kategorie Schopenhauers: was einer ist. „Immer,“ sagt er, „kommt es darauf an, was einer sei und demnach an sich selber habe, denn seine Individualität begleitet ihn stets und überall, und von ihr ist alles tingiert, was er erlebt. In Allem und bei Allem genießt er zunächst nur sich selbst.“ So bewundert er den englischen Ausdruck „to enjoy oneself,“ mit welchem man z. B. sagt: „he enjoys himself at Paris,“ also nicht „er genießt Paris,“ sondern „er genießt sich in Paris.“ Dem Stumpfen sind alle Genüsse stumpf. Alle Lust bleibt ihm ohne Beharrungskraft, wirkt nur zu Zeiten, gelegentlich und vorübergehend. Während der fähige Kopf und edle Charakter selbst auf engstem Raum, selbst unter den schlechtesten Umständen in einem gewissen Reichtum lebt, den er der Fülle seines Seelenlebens und seiner Phantasie verdankt. Ich weiß nicht, ob du dir *alle* Eigenschaften zuschreiben willst, die Schopenhauer unter seiner ersten Grundbestimmung aufzählt: Gesundheit, Kraft, Schönheit, Temperament, moralischer Charakter, Intelligenz und Ausbildung derselben, aber jedenfalls ist dir genug davon gegeben, daß du fähig bist „to enjoy yourself,“ zumal da du die Benützung einer der schönsten Bibliotheken der Welt, einen wahrhaft unerschöpflichen und überwältigenden Reichtum also, zur Verfügung hast.

„Mit vierzig Jahren ist der Berg erstiegen, wir stehen still und schauen zurück,“ begann Friedrich Rückert eines seiner bekanntesten Gedichte, und fuhr in der nächsten Strophe fort: „Hindehnt ein Bergesrücken sich ein breiter, und hier nicht, drüben gehts hinab.“ Er irrte sich, der Weg von da geht nicht *eben* weiter, und wenn er sich senkt, kann es sich nur um ein rein physisches Phänomen handeln. Die Lust und der Ruhm des geistigen Arbeiters ist, daß er immer weiter steigt, er hört *nie* auf zu steigen. Ermattet einer, so muß er sich losreißen und dem Weg den Rücken kehren, denn die lockenden Fernen und die ragenden Gipfel, in die er führt, liegen noch im Weiten — fast so weit wie am Anfang.

Mit fünfundsechzig Jahren beginnt der Herbst des Lebens, aber was für ein wunderbarer und verklärter Herbst kann das sein, der Herbst des Mannes, dessen Leben geistigen Dingen gewidmet war, voller Ernte, Farbe, Glanz und Ruhe. Unvergänglich in Georg Trakls Worten:

Gewaltig endet so das Jahr
Mit goldnem Wein und Frucht die Gärten.
Rund schweigen Wälder wunderbar
Und sind des Einsamen Gefährten.

Da sagt der Landmann: Es ist gut.
Ihr Abendglocken lang und leise
Gebt noch zum Ende frohen Mut,
Ein Vogelzug grüßt auf der Reise.

Es ist der Liebe milde Zeit.
Im Kahn den blauen Fluß hinunter
Wie schön sich Bild an Bildchen reiht —
Das geht in Ruh und Schweigen unter.

So, am Beginn dieses Herbstes, wenn von neuem ein Jahr deiner Seele beginnt, war es Zeit, eine Festschrift zu veröffentlichen, die die Liebe und Achtung deiner Fachgenossen dir entgegenbringt. Zweihundertundfünfzig Namen stehen auf der *Tabula Gratulatoria*, vierzehn Freunde haben sich mit Aufsätzen oder einem Gedicht beteiligt, und die wichtigsten Briefe Thomas Manns, Richard Beer-Hofmanns und Hermann Brochs an dich wurden zugefügt.

Ich sprach von dem Land der deutschen Literatur, das du bewohnt hast. Du hast seine Grenzen bewacht mit scharfem Auge, und wo ein unberechtigter Einbruch geschah, hast du nicht gezögert, ihn kampfbereit zurückzuweisen. Und das vorhandene Gut hast du gepflegt wie ein Hirte seine Herde. Und so haben wir das Buch, das am heutigen Tage dir zur Feier erscheint, genannt *Wächter und Hüter*.

Aus einem bisher unbeachteten Werk Edgar Allan Poes, *The Laws of Etiquette; or Short Rules and Reflexions for Conduct in Society. By a Gentleman*, erschienen in Philadelphia 1836, das erst Carl Schreiber seinem Autor zurückgegeben hat, habe ich gelernt, daß der Mann von Welt, wenn er ein Buch überreichen will, es nicht so direkt dem Empfänger in die Hand drückt. Er nimmt den Sohn etwas beiseite und übermittelt es ihm mit der Bitte, es seinem Vater mit einer gehorsamen Empfehlung übergeben zu wollen. Ich wollte nicht hinter den Sitten von 1336 zurückstehen und habe so einen deiner geistigen Söhne, Theodor Ziolkowski, gebeten, es dir in zehn Exemplaren übergeben zu wollen.

Und so will ich enden mit unseren besten Wünschen und dem „Und so fortan,“ mit dem Goethe so gern seine Briefe schloß.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rilke.

By Otto Friedrich Bollnow. *Zweite, erweiterte Auflage.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957. 352 pages.

In der umfangreichen Rilke-Literatur gibt es doch nur wenige Bücher, die das dichterische Gesamtwerk zuverlässig und mit geübtem Forscherauge untersuchen. Bollnows Beitrag liefert, seit er in erster Auflage 1951 erschienen ist, eine der wesentlichsten konsequenten Deutungen. Er legt zwar das ganze Schwergewicht nur auf das große Spätwerk, denn „dieser späte Rilke ist der einzige Rilke, der eine dem letzten Maßstab gegenüber standhaltende Bedeutung hat, und alles andre interessiert nur insofern, als es auf diese letzte Schaffenszeit bezogen ist“; doch das eigentlich Rilkesche wird dadurch umso klarer. Daß Bollnow seine Einschränkung auch auf die *Neuen Gedichte* bezieht, mag man bedauern. Nur in den letzten großen Schöpfungen habe Rilke die Frage nach dem Sein des Menschen radikal gestellt und eine deutende Antwort gefunden. Bollnow interpretiert daher die Gedichte mit den neuen Erkenntnissen der Seinsphilosophie, wobei er seinem Dichter immer als scharfer und unverführter Beobachter gegenübersteht. Das sieht nun aber zum Glück nicht so aus, als sei Rilke ein dichtender Philosoph und reimender Theoretiker gewesen, es sei denn stellenweise, wenn das Wort als dichterische Kunst in der uferlosen Begriffswelt unterzugehen droht, in der einzelne Forscher Hölderlin und Rilke schon jäh haben ertrinken lassen. Meistens vergißt Bollnow nicht, daß er einen sich des dichterischen Wortes bedienenden Sprachschaffer vor sich hat. Zwar ist der Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung der Gedankengehalt, aber immer wieder wird an die Sprachform selbst angeknüpft; so etwa in den Abschnitten über die Ortschaften der Worte (die „Berge des Herzens“ etc.), über den ungewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch bei einzelnen Wendungen, wie etwa „überstehen“, und bei der Besprechung von Lieblingsausdrücken, wie „Bezug“, wobei Bollnow jeweils wertvolle Beispielreihen solcher Worte und Wendungen zusammenstellt. Und während in dem Kapitel „Idealgestalten“ (der Held, die Liebende, das Kind, der Sänger) die Untersuchung des Seinsgedankens begreiflicherweise vom Dichterisch-Sprachlichen wegführt, so versetzen die beiden folgenden Kapitel „Symbole“ (Die Fontäne, der Ball, der Spiegel, die Waage) und „Das Rosensymbol“ doch wieder in eine andere dichterische Mitte, die die rein gedankliche im Bild ergänzt. Aber das bekannte und jedem Rilkeforscher längst unentbehrliche Buch noch einmal im Einzelnen zu besprechen, erübrigt sich.

Die zweite, neu vorliegende Ausgabe weicht nur ganz unerheblich von der ersten ab. Einige Stilhärten wurden verbessert, ein Abschnitt, „Die Wendung der letzten Jahre“, kam neu hinzu, ein anderer wurde gekürzt, und, eingreifendste Veränderung, aus den früheren letzten fünf Seiten sind nun vierzehn geworden. Diese aber erweitern nur, was schon in der ersten Auflage über die letzte Wendung Rilkes, die zu einer neuen

„Heiterkeit,“ mehr andeutend gesagt worden war. Der Grund für diese wenigen Neufassungen war wohl einzig der inzwischen erschienene Sammelband von Rilkes Gedichten aus den Jahren 1906 bis 1926. Der ermöglichte eine neue Gesamtsicht, die allerdings mehr durch die ungeahnte Menge des nie vorher Gesammelten, als durch neue Töne und Themen überraschte. So enthalten denn auch die Anmerkungen neuere, seit 1951 nötig gewordene Hinweise und eine Berichtigung eines früheren Interpretationsfehlers. Das Inhaltsverzeichnis (S. 7) weist einen merkwürdigen Druckfehler auf: „Der reine Berg“ statt „Der reine Bezug,“ vielleicht ein zu beachtender Fingerzeig dafür, daß man sich sowohl beim Dichter wie beim Interpreten zuweilen vom Abstrakten weg nach dem Konkreten sehnt. Damit hätte sich der Drucker um die Rilke-Forschung nicht unverdient gemacht.

University of Wisconsin.

—Werner Vordtriede

Grundzüge der hochdeutschen Satzintonation.

By Otto von Essen. Ratingen/Düsseldorf: A. Henn Verlag, 1956. 115 pages.

This book, which uses devices similar to Klinghardt's "Punktbilder" for the transcription of German intonation phenomena, should be valuable to both teachers and students of German because of its illustrative examples (11-60) and exercises for practice (87-113) of what may be called the formalized or mechanical intonation patterns of standard German. Three intonation contours — terminal, non-terminal, interrogative — are depicted and described in connection with frequent sentence types — statements, yes-or-no questions, commands, and so forth. A center section (63-84) gives intonation markings for several short connected passages taken from broadcasts of the Northwest German Radio.

The mechanical and typical German intonation patterns, important for the acquisition of a good pronunciation, have been neglected in teaching materials for too long and anything which will aid the student in learning them is more than welcome. A grammar of intonation, however, as von Essen would like to view his book, must be based upon more than that which is typical and formalized and thus able to give only a minimum of intonation meaning. Since the significance of intonation contours for meaning depends upon variation of pitch level, an adequate presentation of intonation facts must be based upon an investigation of the actual contrasts obtained in such levels. Certainly many more than the author's three contours are to be described as meaningful for German, but the number of contrasting levels comprising them will no doubt as in English prove to be four, by chance the number which von Essen generally depicts within a given example. In defining his contours, however, von Essen ignores the relative pitch heights he has recorded and regards only the direction of pitch (i. e. falling, level, rising) of their end-points. Once the contrastive pitch levels have been established as the smallest units of German intonation, it will undoubtedly be found that the pitch direction of the last pitch level of an intonation contour is significant, but not exclusively so. The scope of intonation contours in relation to stress and pause needs also to be defined more precisely than von Essen does. It would seem that the

type of phonetic study of German intonation associated with *Punktbilder* has been pushed just about as far as it will go. More application as begun by Hugo Mueller of the methods recently developed for the phonemic analysis of the contrastive elements of American English intonation is now needed.

University of Buffalo.

—B. J. Koekkoek

Bonaventura "De triplici via" in altschwäbischer Übertragung.

Herausgegeben von Kurt Ruh. *Texte des späten Mittelalters: Heft 6.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1957. 64 S.

In the *Vorrede* succinct answers are given to the questions: who, what, why, when, and where with respect to the author of the Latin text and his work. The "De triplici via" is a *Summa mystica* and an important work in the history of German mysticism. It is the work of a Franciscan and is representative of the share of that order in the development of the German movement.

In the *Einführung* we have a careful discussion of the transmission of the text of the Swabian translation of the Latin work. Any student who follows attentively the discussion of the relationships of the several manuscripts should come away with new insight into the chief criteria applicable to such a study. The construction of the stemma (p. 19) is exemplary and the remarks on *Textgestaltung* are instructive to the learner.

The argumentation as to the provenience of the original translation is also instructive. The description of the procedure of text determination and *Lesartenapparat* shows clearly what facts and inferences can be used in such an undertaking. The remarks concerning the quality of the German text are interesting to a wider audience as well as to the linguist.

The text itself runs to a bit more than thirty pages and is ample in quantity for most kinds of *Übungen*. There is a glossary of German words which cites the Latin word translated and the page and line. This glossary is not exhaustive. It contains 254 head-words, of which 87 are said not to appear in *Lexer*. The purpose of the glossary is primarily to provide a key to the scholastic vocabulary of mysticism, in so far as this text shows it.

The editor of this text edition, Kurt Ruh, has also just published (Bern, 1956) a more extensive study of the problems here presented. His book is called: *Bonaventura deutsch. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Franziskanermystik und -scholastik*. It is volume seven of the *Bibliotheca Germanica*.

University of Wisconsin.

—R-M. S. Heffner

Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide.

By Einar Haugen. *Publications of the American Dialect Society No. 26,* Nov., 1956. Pp. 159.

One of the most fruitful sources of information on language behavior is the study of bilingualism. As a pathfinder in the modern approach to this field, Haugen has here presented a work that will long

serve as a guide to research, even after the bibliography itself is out of date.

In the first and largest section of the book, he has organized the material in such a way as will surely stimulate and help to formulate future development in the field. Chapter headings are labeled (1) The Scope of the Problem, (2) Languages of the Americas, (3) Language Contact, (4) The Bilingual Individual, (5) The Bilingual Community, and (6) Approaches to Research. The bibliography, arranged alphabetically according to author, and indexes of technical terms and of languages are thereafter appended.

The basic approach of the text is general enough to find application in the treatment of two or more language systems within a given speech community or between associated communities of speakers. Bilingual data thus derived can point the way to possible solutions of numerous problems regarding linguistic function and linguistic change. While certain fundamental differences exist between interlingual and intralingual contacts, the study of bilingual structures leads indirectly to the observation of dialect mixture. From a careful analysis of all facts so obtained, therefore, we should expect the kinds of results that contribute to advances in all types of linguistic research. A paramount consideration in this respect is the value such information may have, for instance, in language pedagogy.

If my conjectures are correct then, it would seem urgent that linguists press forward in the collection of more information on bilingual as well as dialectal contacts. Haugen's work, here and elsewhere, proves quite definitely that linguistic theory and methodology are determined by the facts of language, not vice versa. Considerably more work remains to be done in the United States, not to mention the other "Americas," on the linguistic geography of both native and non-native speech. When this is done, some of Haugen's material will be changed, modified and improved, but its salutary influence on American linguistics will long endure.

University of Washington.

—Carroll E. Reed

Erziehung durch Schrifttum. Ein Beitrag zur Didaktik und Methodik des Unterrichts in den Mittleren Schulen.

Von Heinrich Reitemeier. Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1956. *Erziehung und Unterricht in den Mittleren Schulen*, Heft 2. 165 S. Preis: DM 5.60.

Even though this book is meant primarily for the teacher in German *Mittelschulen*, that particular type of German school that leads to the *mittlere Reife*, its treatment of methods of interpretation and its analysis of certain psychological factors in the student offer the American teacher of German literature interesting aspects. Moreover, the author is keenly aware of the changed and changing picture of methods since the start of the century and of contemporary psychological research and findings with respect to the age of the student and the selection of his reading matter. Even the "late bloomer" (*Spätentwickler*) is a phenomenon in German schools that the teacher has to reckon

with. The statement that German literature must become a living force through the study of the works of German writers and not remain a study per se, is not altogether new. The dilemma whether complete works (*Ganzschriften*) are to be given preference over reading selections from authors is not clearly solved. A warning is issued against the viewing of films based on literary works. The stress is on the German classics and nineteenth century authors but the list of German writers that should come to the attention of the German *Mittelschüler* does not contain the name of Heinrich Heine.

Middlebury College.

—Werner Neuse

Correction of "Personalialia"

Under *Ohio State University* the designations "Assistant Professor" and "Associate Professor" should be reversed.

Under *Ohio University, Athens*, John A. Hess, Ph. D., should be listed as "Emeritus"; Herbert Lederer, Ph. D., as "Associate Professor"; and Kathryn Johnson as "Instructor."

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